

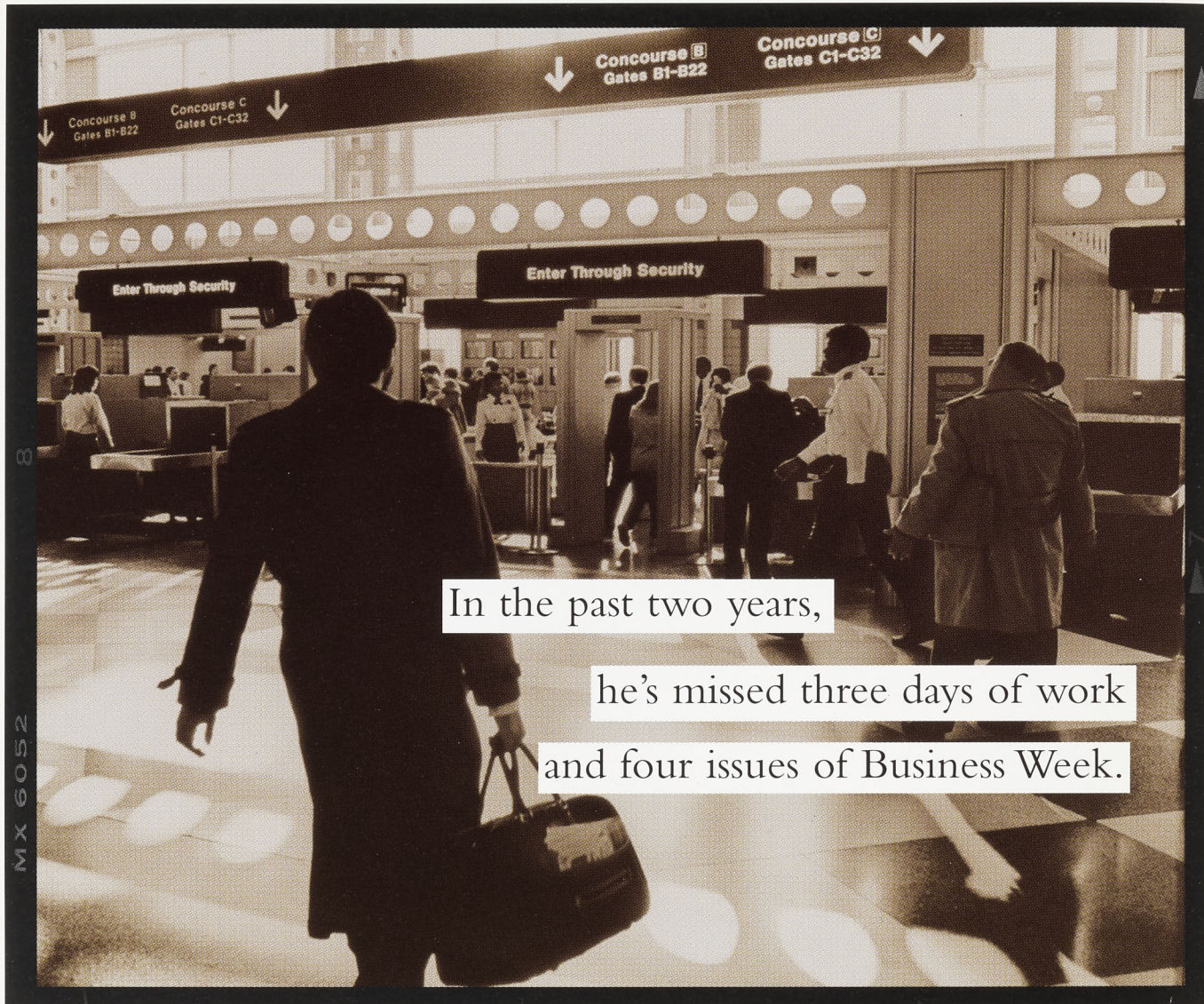
INSIDE: WINNERS OF THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS

Dateline

AMERICA'S GLOBAL PARADOX

1997
SPECIAL
ISSUE





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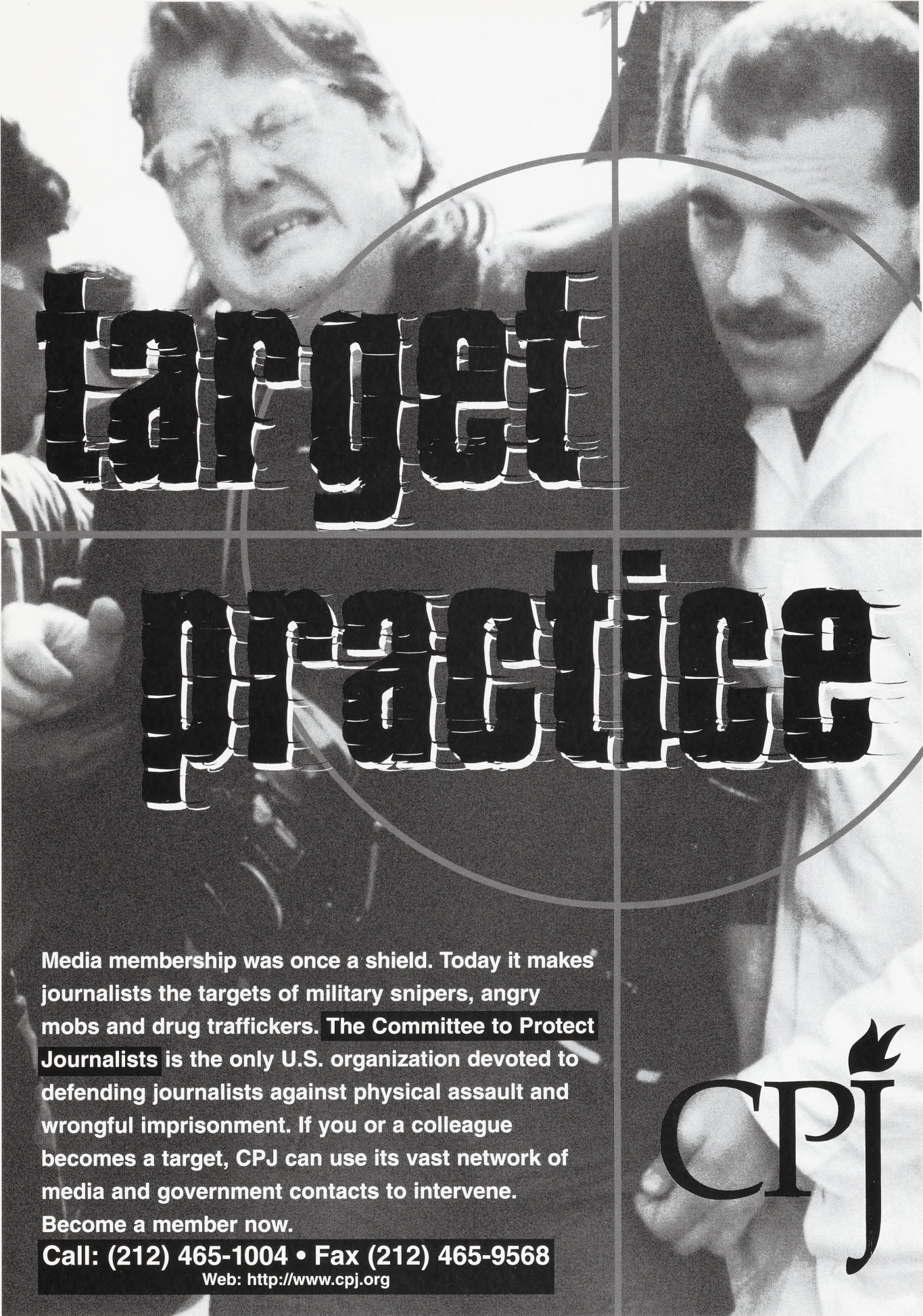
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OPC Dateline

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Letter from the President

Why should we care if public and mass media interest in international news is waning?

We find the answer in the writings of James Madison, the fourth president of the United States. In 1822, he wrote:

"Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power that knowledge gives."

At the 58th Annual OPC Awards Dinner, we honor an elite group who march to the beat of President Madison's resonant drum: the award winners for journalistic excellence and Katharine Graham of *The Washington Post* who receives my Presidential Award for Lifetime Achievement.

These are journalists who know and care about a crucial building block of democracy, namely a well-informed electorate.

The dinner climaxes another year for the OPC. As readers of our monthly *Bulletin* know, membership continues to expand. Our programs on subjects such as the future of Central Europe and prospects for post-Deng China are more vital and better attended than ever.

The Freedom of the Press Committee has been active in fighting for the rights of journalists at home and abroad (page 78). The scholarship program of the OPC Foundation is reaching out to journalism schools throughout the United States, and our reciprocal relations with other journalistic clubs and organizations around the world are multiplying (page 7).

The OPC awards program continues to grow

*"Knowledge
will forever
govern
ignorance"*

—James Madison

in recognition and stature thanks to the efforts of Michael Serrill, a senior writer at *Time*, and to the judges from America's finest news organizations (page 44).

In short, the club is advancing on all fronts. The OPC is firmly defending journalism professionals who are out there covering a dangerous world. This essential activity comes, paradoxically, at a time when international coverage is being reduced.

That theme is at the heart of this year's *Dateline*, an award-winning publication in its own right.

Dateline was capably edited by my immediate predecessor, Bill Holstein, a senior writer at *U.S. News & World Report*, with help from a team at *Forbes*: managing editor David Fondiller, art director Ronda Kass, photo editor

Meredith Nicholson, production coordinator Alan Biederman and copy chief Kerry Dolan.

Our thanks, too, to the writers and photographers who contributed their work and to AGT which devoted loving care to printing the magazine.

I would also like to thank the OPC Board of Governors, which provides momentum with its outpouring of ideas and energy. Club Manager Sonya Fry is the real power behind the throne and performs outstandingly in supporting all OPC initiatives. And finally, thanks to all our members and friends who support the mission of the Overseas Press Club of America.

John Corporon

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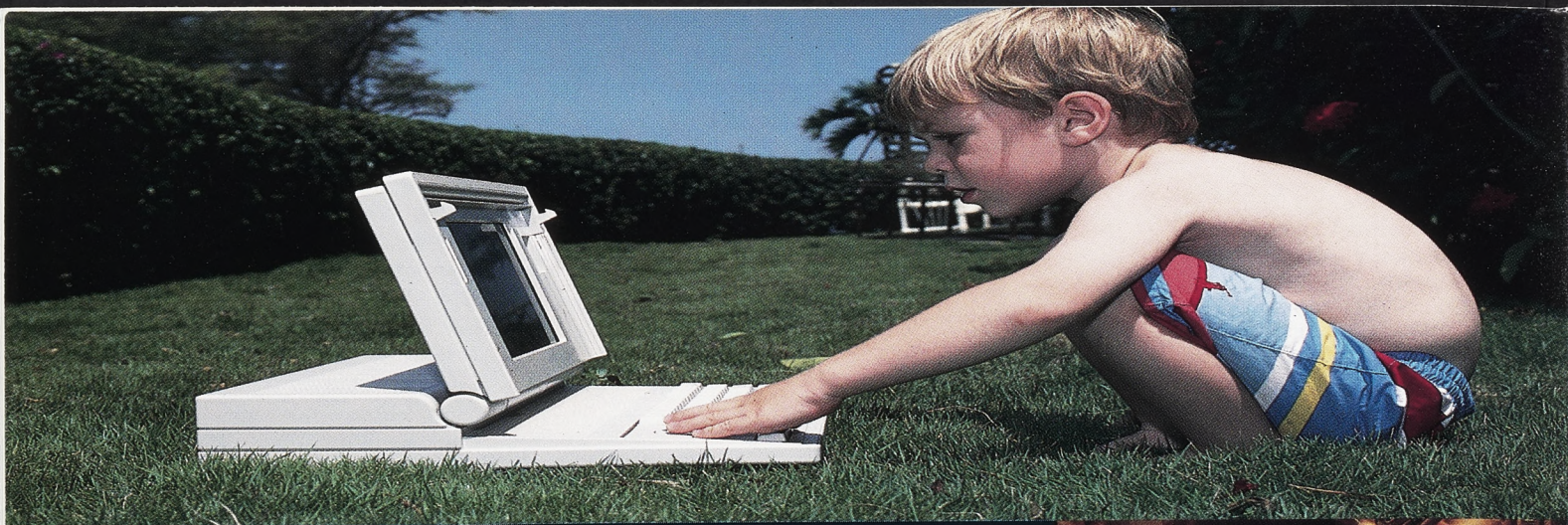
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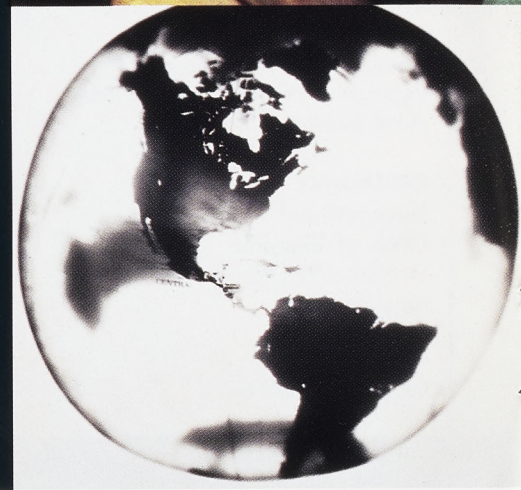
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Tales of Triumph and Loss in Korea

By Albert E. Kaff

Sagida screamed when the North Korean major fired a bullet through an American lieutenant's neck. "Be quiet or I'll kill you," the Communist officer shouted at the Turkish girl. Sagida Salahutdin was 16 years old. She had never seen a man die until the American lieutenant collapsed on the frozen ground, blood spurting from his neck.

It was the first months of the Korean War. Captured when the North Korean army overran Seoul, Sagida, her parents and five brothers along with American military prisoners were being herded north through bitterly cold weather. About 100 of the prisoners were murdered by their guards or died of starvation, disease or cold before they reached the North Korean POW camps. Sagida and her family, apparently Central Asians forcibly relocated to the Far East by Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, were imprisoned in those camps for nearly four years. She is believed to be the only teenaged non-Korean girl captured during the Korean War, fought from 1950 to 1953.

Now, 44 years after the Korean Armistice was signed, I am writing about Sagida as a memorial to the handful of European civilians who shared the terror and hardships of POW camps with American and other United Nations soldiers. They were much more vulnerable than the combatants. I covered the last year of the Korean War and the first months of the armistice for United Press. During the fighting, correspondents accredited to the United Nations Command were free to visit the front. The U.S. Army assigned us our own personal jeeps with the name of our news organization painted on the hood, and off we went to watch battles and talk with GIs back from patrols into enemy territory.

On the Eastern Front on Christmas morning, 1952, an estimated 200 screaming North Korean soldiers swarmed out of Luke's Castle, a honey-combed pile of rocks, and overran the trenches and foxholes of Company K (censorship rules prohibited us from identifying the regiment or division of combat units). Communist artillery and mortar blew American GIs to bits while others died in bayonet charges. Cries of dying men were heard on the snow-covered hillside. One GI died in the arms of Private Billy Thompson, 22, of Charlottesville, Virginia: "The sergeant just stepped out of the CP [command post] when we were beating back the Red attack. A grenade hit him in the face. He lasted 20 minutes."

War stories, fear and bravery were what we reported. Two nights before Christmas 1952 during his second tour of duty in Korea, Sergeant First-



KAFF, IN REGULATION CORRESPONDENT'S UNIFORM, TALKS TO A TINY SOURCE

Unlike the Vietnam press corps, most U.N. correspondents in Korea accepted the war as a righteous battle against evil

Class Rodney Mettner, 24, Glendale, California, killed five Communist soldiers with automatic carbine fire and nine others when he rolled a three-pound TNT charge into their bunker. Why did Mittner volunteer for a second hitch in Korea after winning a Distinguished Service Cross, a Silver Star and two Purple Hearts during his first tour? "I feel like I know what I am doing over here. I want to do a good job at anything I tackle, and I know what I'm doing in the infantry."

When his patrol from the Turkish army brigade was trapped by Chinese soldiers, Corporal Abdurrahman Can, 22, locked a bayonet on his rifle and charged. Three Communist burp gun slugs tore into his hips and one leg, and grenade shrapnel cut into his back. "I didn't feel any pain. I kept on running. I had only one idea—to kill Reds. I rammed my bayonet into his [a Chinese soldier's] chest and lifted him off the ground." That night, Can and his comrades killed an estimated 10 Communist soldiers, half of them by Can. But Turkey awards no medals for bravery. Can said: "When I go home, my father will say to me, 'My son, you fought well.' That will be my award."

During the Korean War, the U.S. military housed, fed and provided transportation for war correspondents accredited to the U.N. Command. As correspondents did during World War II, we submitted our copy to military censors and wore uniforms with a blue-and-white shoulder patch lettered "U.N. War Correspondent." After early battles up and down the Korean peninsula, the fighting front was stabilized during the last two years of the conflict, roughly along the 38th parallel that divided North and South Korea before the war started.

With the front stable, all reporters were required to live in Seoul's Naija Apartment, a building the U.S. Army had converted into a press billet. We slept in our offices, ate GI chow in the dining room, saw movies at night and swapped yarns in the bar. But bureau chiefs kept most field reporters like me up front with the troops while our bosses wrote the big picture from Seoul.

Censorship rules were simple: do not name men killed or wounded, do not identify military units above company level, do not disclose plans for future operations or troop movements. If stories passed muster, enlisted men transmitted our copy over military circuits to our offices in Tokyo. We could request transmission either by Teletype or by telephone dictation. If censorship questions arose, the censor called in the reporter, and in most cases the problem was solved quickly. By and large, the cen-

sors were nice guys, more helpful than harmful, and they were on duty 24 hours a day.

In sharp contrast to the Vietnam War press corps, most of the 350 U.N. correspondents who covered Korea accepted that war as a righteous battle against evil. In a program written for a 1995 memorial service for war correspondents killed on the American side (more than 100 in World War II, 18 in Korea and 63 in Vietnam), Korean War correspondent Rud Poats of United Press put it this way: "Reporters accredited to the United Nations Command, with only a few exceptions, identified with its cause. We referred to the North Korean and Chinese forces as 'the enemy.'"

Sending stories from the front was a bitch. From a frontline platoon or company, we dictated our reports over Army field telephones to Seoul for censoring. But there were no direct circuits. Instead, crank the phone and tell the operator, "Give me Saber." Wait a moment for Saber to come on the line and then, "Hello Saber, give me Scotch." From Scotch ask for the press billet. Those code names moved your call from one field switchboard to another until you finally reached Seoul. If you were lucky, you could be heard at the other end.

Early in the war, UP's Rud Poats brought a couple of homing pigeons to Korea from their home cage atop the Mainichi newspaper building in Tokyo. In those days, Japanese reporters often used pigeons to carry copy from outside Tokyo to their offices. Poats did the same, but his birds were never seen after he launched them with hot copy.

But my most haunting memories always take me back to Sagida Salahutdin. She had lived all her life with her stateless family in Seoul, capital of anti-Communist South Korea. In 1950 when Sagida was 16 years old, North Korean troops attacked south across the 38th parallel, invaded and captured Seoul. American civilians, mostly diplomats and their families, fled. But the Salahutdins stayed, were captured and sent to the camps up north.

When fighting ended in July 1953, military prisoners were released. But the Communists did not free the Salahutdin family until seven months later. Along with 11 other stateless Russian and Turkish civilians, they were released on March 1, 1954, at Panmunjom, the frontline village where the Korean War Armistice Agreement was signed.

I interviewed Sagida at a U.S. Army quarantine center. Sagida was 19 years old when she walked to freedom. She was a pretty girl with a lovely face, large brown eyes, an attractive figure, her long black hair braided in pigtails. Her English was excellent.

Sagida spoke about her missed girlhood. With tears in her eyes, she told me that she had lost the



TOP: A SOLDIER FRANTICALLY SEEKS MEDICAL HELP FOR A COMRADE

BOTTOM: CIVILIANS FLEE THE FIGHTING

Sending stories from the front was a bitch... One reporter tried homing pigeons, but his birds disappeared without a trace

best years of her adolescence in North Korea—her 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th years. She hadn't ever worn lipstick or high heels. But she had seen death up close, thanks to the North Korean army major, whom American POWs called the Tiger.

The Tiger drove his prisoners on an 11-day march through mountain passes towards the Yalu River during a bitterly cold November in 1950. That's when 100 of the prisoners were murdered by guards or died of starvation, disease or cold.

"The Tiger was tall for a Korean with wide shoulders," Sagida told me. "Even the Korean guards were afraid of him. When you looked at his face, you knew that he was really a cruel man. He was always proud of his pistol."

Lashed by Siberian winds, the North Korean prison camps were cold. Food was barely adequate, meager rations of corn and millet. During part of their captivity, the European women and children were held in a prison hospital. But Sagida was thrown into a cell when Communist soldiers discovered her trying to help a dying American priest.

Sagida promised several of the American soldiers she would write them after they all were liberated and returned home. In prison, one of those soldiers accepted help from Sagida and her family. She nursed him when he was sick and despondent. But in the end, he took an unexpected path, and Sagida could only say: "I want to forget him forever."

"He was sick and very skinny," Sagida recalled. "My two young brothers were sick with diarrhea and malaria. So we gave the American soldier their food. I could speak Japanese [commonly spoken in Korea when it was a Japanese colony from 1910 to 1945], and I begged tobacco and butts from the guards to give to him."

"He was very homesick. He gave me his address and asked me to write to him when I was freed. I said I would. He was so sick. He wouldn't take care of himself, and he was very dirty. I got water and washed his hands and feet. I felt sorry for him."

But later, Sagida's compassion turned to rejection. The Korean armistice permitted military prisoners on both sides to refuse repatriation. Just before she was released from captivity, Sagida read an item about her soldier friend in the left-wing Paris newspaper, *L'Humanité*. The soldier who had told her that he missed Arkansas was listed as one of the 21 American POWs who remained voluntarily in North Korea to become "Communist peacefighters." Such were the bitter ironies of extending compassion to the fallen.

Kaff, who served in the U.S. Army before joining United Press, currently resides in Fairfield, Connecticut.

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Covering Khrushchev and the Communists: No Party

By Whitman Bassow

I arrived in Moscow in 1955 at a turning point in Soviet history. Nikita Khrushchev was moving the country away from the horrors of Stalinism, determined to make modest but significant internal changes and, equally important, to "normalize" Russia's relations with the rest of the world.

After almost nine years of dreaming, learning Russian and acquiring a Ph.D. in Russian history, plus six months in the United Press Boston bureau and a year on the New York cables desk, I had finally made it. I was a United Press correspondent working under the legendary Henry Shapiro.

For all Moscow correspondents, the emergence of Soviet leaders from self-isolation behind the walls of the Kremlin was spectacular. Unlike Stalin, who made only two trips abroad as Soviet leader after the 1917 revolution, Khrushchev and Premier Nikolai Bulganin traveled to India, Yugoslavia and England. In Moscow, Khrushchev and his cohorts made frequent appearances at embassy and Kremlin receptions, concerts and even international sports events.

At receptions, they were usually accessible. In fact, Khrushchev often sought out correspondents, especially the Americans. We asked questions ranging from the future of Berlin to the impact of the weather on the grain harvest. The impromptu give-and-take with Khrushchev came as close to genuine press conferences as had ever existed in the Soviet Union.

The encounters also gave reporters unusual opportunities to observe other leaders closely, to watch Foreign Minister Molotov or Marshal Georgi Zhukov as they talked with diplomats and with each other, to note their mannerisms and their dress. At a French Embassy reception, for example, I watched Khrushchev with admiration as he nibbled on a slice of *jambon* expertly balanced on his knife.

To deal with these new opportunities, correspondents did what they probably would never have done in different foreign assignments: They pooled all the information that came out of a reception. The pooling took place at the Central Telegraph, where correspondents submitted their stories to censors (until May 1961) for transmittal abroad. Wire service reporters—AP, UP, AFP and Reuters, all fluent in Russian—read from their



BASSOW IN MOSCOW, 1956, PART OF A "GRAND AND EXCITING" SEVEN YEARS THERE

*We who knew
Russian were
always seeking
to penetrate
below
the surface...
But if we
pushed too far,
we paid a price*

notes for all to hear. Such an arrangement helped ensure an agreed text of what Khrushchev or others had said.

For the many correspondents who didn't speak Russian, this system was their salvation. When the sharing was done, each reporter was on his or her own. Agency reporters rushed to their cubicles to type their stories, order phone lines to Paris, London or Frankfurt, and then pray that the censor would pass their copy before the call came through.

One of the more memorable receptions took place at the Polish Embassy in November 1956. NATO envoys led by U.S. Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen stalked out of the room after Khrushchev attacked Britain, France and Israel for invading Egypt during the Suez crisis. Brandishing his fist, Khrushchev thundered a phrase that quickly entered the mythology of Soviet-American relations: "We will bury you!"

Correspondents dashed to the Telegraph. They all viewed the outburst as a threat to attack the West and destroy the capitalist world.

Unfortunately for the journalists, and I was one of them, we were all wrong! It was a colossal mistake that produced huge political shock waves.

What Khrushchev actually meant was much less dire. He was citing a common Russian expression meaning, "We will survive you. We will be present at your funeral."

Bohlen's knowledge of colloquial Russian was vastly superior to that of the reporters. He immediately recognized the phrase as a figure of speech, "expressing confidence in prevailing over the long haul," as he later wrote. Presumably, he advised Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that the Soviet Union was not about to attack the United States. Our dispatches, however, profoundly misled the American public and the quote remains carved in the cement of history.

The biggest single competitive journalistic coup of my UP tour was coverage of the 20th Communist Party Congress convened a few months earlier, in February 1956. It was the first since 1952, the first since Stalin's death, and nobody was certain what would emerge.

Covering the Congress was a huge challenge. In contrast to the receptions, the Russians did everything they could to make it difficult to report this event. The Kremlin was closed to journalists. The agenda was secret. Sovinformburo, an official agency, would send the speeches twice daily—in

Russian—to the Central Telegraph, but they arrived hours after being delivered at the Kremlin sessions.

But old Moscow hand Henry Shapiro persuaded the director of Informburo—whom he had known during World War II—that he should provide the UP with the speeches two hours before they were distributed to other correspondents. His argument: he would have more time to read the texts, decide what was truly important, and consequently avoid mistakes. The Russian agreed that this made sense.

During the entire Congress, Shapiro was ensconced at a desk in the Informburo office reading the speeches. Periodically, he would phone me at the Telegraph and dictate a story, which I submitted to the censors and then phoned to Frankfurt. During the two weeks of the Congress, not once did he appear in person.

We beat AP by hours every day. Dick O'Malley, the bureau chief—staggered by the rockets from his bosses in New York—almost went berserk. He told anybody who would listen that Shapiro had been admitted to the Kremlin in exchange for unspecified services to the Soviets!

The most startling and significant speech delivered at the Congress was not even distributed to correspondents: Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin and accusing him of a long list of crimes, misdeeds, errors and elevating himself "above the party and the nation."

Knowledge of the speech began to leak almost immediately, however, after summaries were read at thousands of closed Communist Party meetings all over the Soviet Union. East European ambassadors, who received private briefings, cabled reports back to their capitals revealing further details. Several reporters were able to get their story out piecemeal, including a dispatch hand-carried to Helsinki by a Reuters correspondent and filed under a Bonn dateline. The furious Russians were not deceived. They expelled the Reuters man a few weeks later.

During the months that followed, we filed dozens of stories reporting the dismantling of the Stalin myth as his statues and portraits began to disappear from public places in Moscow, from subway stations, offices, theater lobbies and stores—without official explanation.

Yet we could not cover the momentous developments unleashed by de-Stalinization throughout the whole country. Our working conditions made that impossible. Although direct censorship had been abolished in 1961, we were still hounded by the KGB; our phones were tapped, and we could not travel 25 miles beyond Moscow without permission. Above all, we were cut off from Soviet society by a wall of fear and suspicion.

We could not investigate rumors that



*Khrushchev on
his U.S. tour.
He often
sought out
correspondents,
especially
Americans*

Khrushchev had begun to empty the infamous gulags of hundreds of thousands of political prisoners or that thousands of Stalin's victims were being rehabilitated and restored to their old jobs and apartments.

My Russian friends refused to talk about these things, about how their families had suffered through the purges of the 1930s and 1940s. And even if a few had been brave enough to confide, to tell the truth about what they had endured, I could not have filed a word. The censor would have seen to that.

How I envy David Remnick, who served in Moscow for the *Washington Post* from 1988 to 1991. For *Lenin's Tomb*, his superb book on the collapse of the Soviet empire, he interviewed hundreds of Russians, which would have been an unimaginable feat in the '50s and '60s.

As I look back on those years, I regret to say we covered many stories the Soviets permitted us to pursue, never enough of the stories they didn't want us to pursue. We who knew Russian were always testing and probing, always seeking to penetrate below the surface, reporting unknown or unfamiliar aspects of Soviet life.

But if we pushed too far, we paid a price. In August 1962, I was summoned to the Foreign Ministry and ordered to leave the country within seven days. My crime: I had violated unspecified "standards of behavior for foreign correspondents" and written "crudely slanderous dispatches about the Soviet Union, which have evoked the righteous indignation of Soviet public opinion."

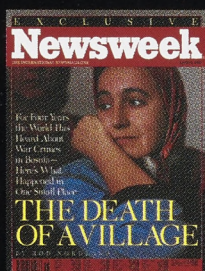
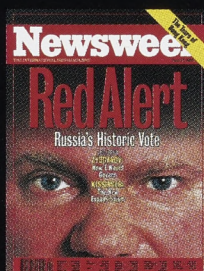
It had been a grand and exciting experience. I observed momentous events and some of the principal actors in them: Marshal Tito, Premier Chou En-Lai, Indonesian President Sukarno, Egyptian President Nasser and Eleanor Roosevelt. On a less exalted level, I had dinner with Elizabeth Taylor, spent two weeks listening to Benny Goodman play my favorite swing music, heard William Saroyan wax nostalgic about his Armenian heritage, danced with Shirley MacLaine in a Leningrad restaurant, shared a can of Chef Boyardee spaghetti with Truman Capote and took tea with Cary Grant.

But the assignment ended abruptly and prematurely in a way that saddened me. On an overcast day in August, I boarded a Finnair flight to Helsinki with my family. At the top of the boarding ramp, I turned to wave goodbye, not just to my embassy friends and colleagues, not just to Russia, but also to my career as Moscow correspondent.

Bassow, author of "The Moscow Correspondents" and a former opic Board member, reported from Moscow for five years for United Press and Newsweek.



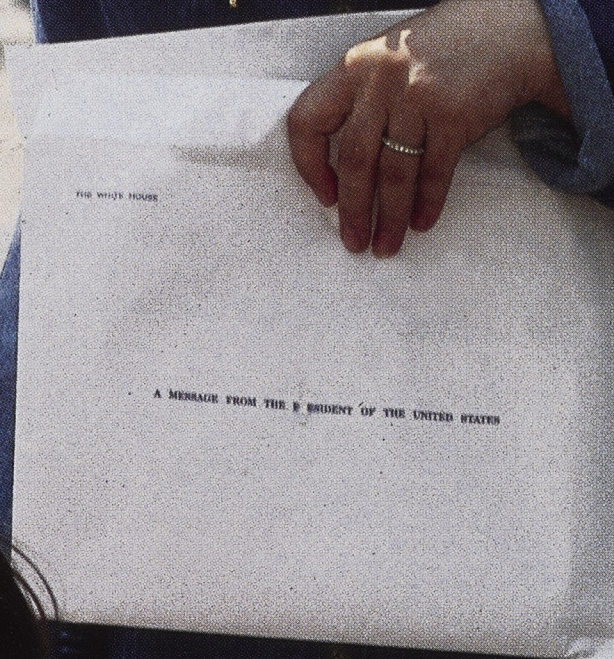
A cure for the new isolationism.

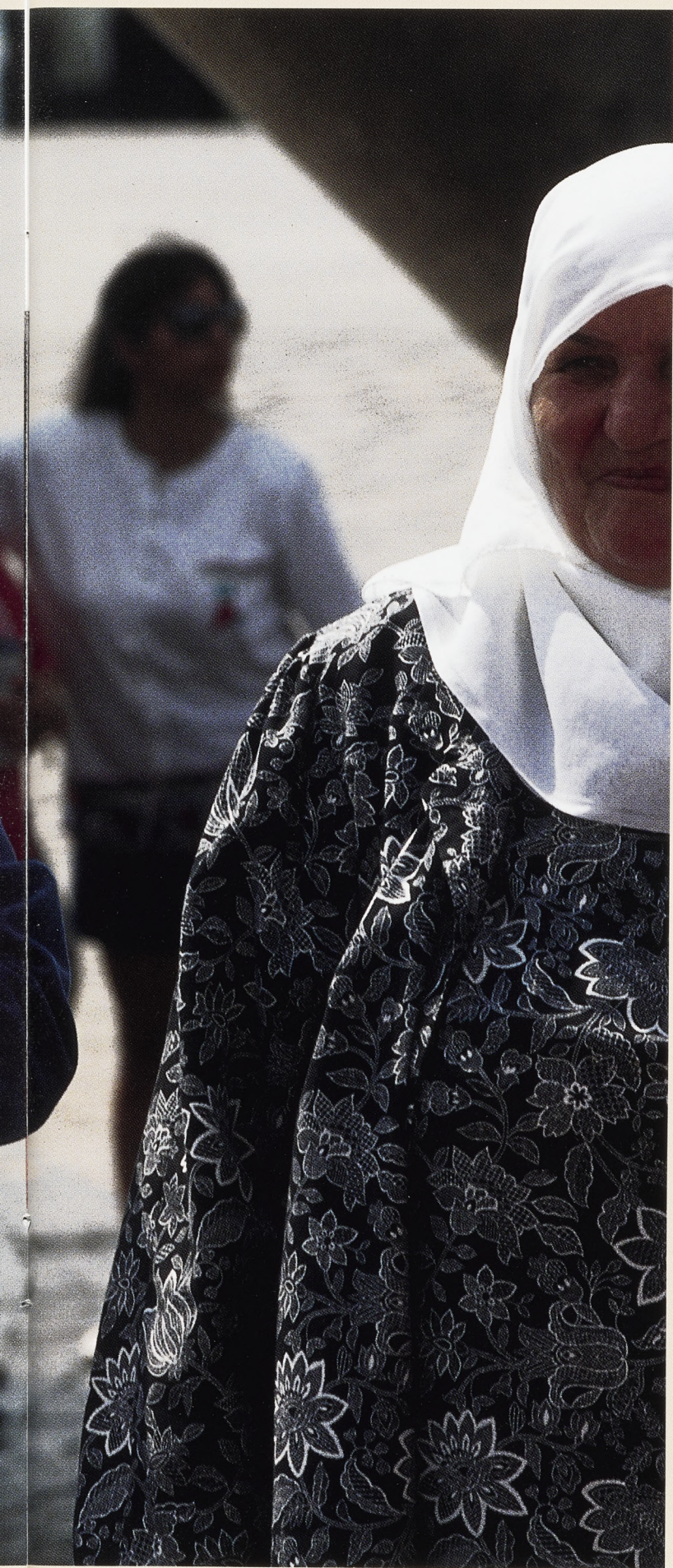


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**IN DETROIT, A
WOMAN
EXULTS AS
HER HUSBAND
BECOMES A
U.S. CITIZEN**





Dateline



America's Global Paradox

By William J. Holstein

It was easy to board a plane and fly to Afghanistan in December 1979. I was a pup of a correspondent based in Hong Kong, and the Soviets had just invaded the landlocked Texas-sized nation in Central Asia. As young as I was, I already knew how to cover the story. Shock and outrage were self-evident. The bad guys were making a real-estate grab, pushing toward the warm water ports, fulfilling the dream of the czars. After landing in Kabul, I soon learned Afghanistan was a spectacularly complex place inhabited by people of different ethnicities, languages and histories. But none of that made any difference. I interpreted everything through the prism of the Soviet Union heading for its own Vietnam. My copy sang.

Fast forward nearly 20 years: I'm sitting in a union hall in Bloomington, Indiana, talking to Bob and Sandra Griffin, both in their fifties. They work at the old RCA television plant, which was sold to General Electric, and then sold again to Thomson SA of France. The story this time is that the French government is contemplating selling Thomson's electronics subsidiary to South Korea's Daewoo group. The fear is that the Koreans will shut down the Indiana factory and move 1,300 jobs to Mexico. We sit in the union hall amid billowing cigarette smoke wondering whether the French will wrap themselves in indignation and refuse to sell—or swallow their Gallic pride and cut the deal. Utterly powerless, the Griffins know that decisions affecting their

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**THE FACE
OF AMERICA
HAS BEEN
ALTERED
BY NEW
IMMIGRANTS**

future are being made far away by people they don't understand.

Who are the bad guys and who are the good guys? It was an American company that sold the plant to French government-owned Thomson. Are the French the villains? Perhaps it is the ambitious Koreans, who don't seem to understand that the West wants them to remain firmly planted in the developing world, not the developed one. Or could it be the duplicitous Mexicans who lured America into the treacherous embrace called NAFTA? Months later, the decision is made: The French won't sell, but they'll shut down the factory anyway and move the work to Mexico.

That incredible neck wrench—from Afghanistan to Indiana, from raw military confrontation to convoluted economics, from the world as *there* to the world as *here*—captures at least part of what has happened to America over the years. It also reveals the challenges facing those who profess to understand and explain international news. The game has changed. The strategy the United States used to defeat the Soviet Union proved successful. Now the big story is how Americans are engaged on every level with the world and the world with them. In the new era, America's international presence is most visible not through the State Department but through Boeing, Coke, Disney, Intel and Microsoft. Meanwhile, the names of business powerhouses, like BASF, Bridgestone, Honda, Michelin and Siemens,

aren't even recognized by many Americans as being foreign-based.

Welcome to the global economy where the front line is elusive. Americans have never been more deeply touched by their engagement with the world. The arrival of tens of millions of legal and illegal immigrants since 1965 has literally altered the face of the land, not only major cities but small towns as well. The livelihoods of more Americans than ever before depend on exports and international investment flows of one sort or another. Their mutual funds and pension funds invest around the world. And never before have American consumers relied so heavily on the nimble fingers of young Chinese women making Barbie dolls and the tender ministrations of data entry operators in Bangalore. Flowers can be cut in Colombia and arrive in Los Angeles by the next morning. Other things arrive through porous borders, too—drugs, criminal gangs and terrorism.

Yet at the same time that Americans have been joined with the world, they typically show profound disinterest in international affairs. This paradox is one that America's political and business elites haven't begun to grapple with. Even though they have led the U.S. into a complete and probably unbreakable economic embrace with the world, popular understanding of why it's happening and what it means lags far behind. Learning



how to discuss this new set of realities is arguably the most pressing intellectual challenge of our time.

People who advocate civic journalism or the public interest will argue that the hugely diverse animal called "the media" has a responsibility to rise to this challenge. That may be true. But I argue from a different point of view—that of self-interest. For the mainstream media to maintain legitimacy, relevance and therefore economic viability, it has to respond to America's global paradox.

I have periodically been fortunate to "rediscover" my own country. It happened once after I returned from my posting in Asia and discovered what a wrenching economic shakeout had occurred in the early 1980s. Small towns, cities and entire regions nearly fell off the map. It was around that time that towns like Harrodsburg, Kentucky accepted the inevitability



of having a Hitachi factory located there, even though many of the town's volunteers died on the Bataan Death March during World War II. Those were the early days of a massive influx of Japanese and European industrial investment.

In my most recent travels, I find that Americans are encountering even more rapid, thoroughgoing change. Health care, banking, telecommunications, utilities, railroads and even the funeral home industry are all being transformed by a new burst of mergers and consolidations. Wave after wave of new technologies are crashing over Americans' heads. The widespread application of computers, linked automated teller machines, satellite and cellular communications, smart cards and laser bar-code scanners, to name just a few, means that new industries are rising while the old economy—and the old jobs—wither away.





At the same time, a seismic shift in the role of government, scarcely understood in the parlors of Georgetown or Manhattan's Upper West Side, means that millions of people in the military and defense industries are scrambling to start new careers. Another two million people on welfare must find jobs. Economists who stare at their Reuters screens all day for insight into what they so charmingly call "the data" may conclude that overall economic indicators are strong. They are. But these truth-seekers have scant idea of the dislocations taking place in the hinterland.

An overlay of global competition makes all this even more difficult. Because American companies can shift their production abroad so easily, there is downward pressure on the wages Americans earn. Competitors can do the same thing, so there's also downward pressure on the

**CAN AMERICA
ABSORB
PEOPLE OF
SO MANY
DIFFERENT
CULTURES?**

prices U.S. companies charge. Winners take all; losers fade away.

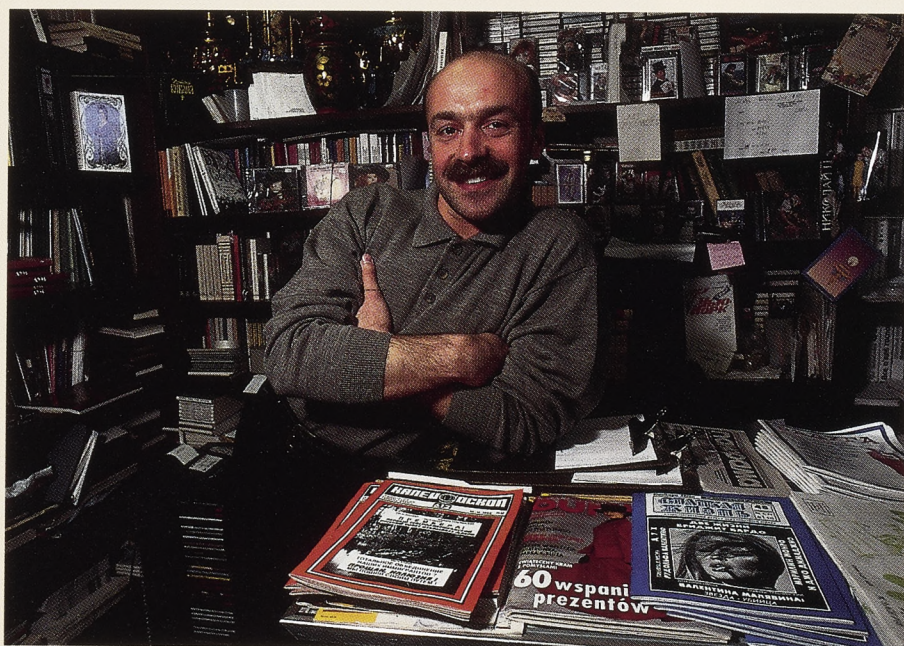
The most visible face of this competition belongs to recent immigrants, particularly those from Asia and Latin America.

They can be found in the research labs at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio, as well as in the upper ranks of esteemed management consultants McKinsey & Co.

But their weight is felt more deeply in the lower rungs of society. At the Chicago Manufacturing Institute in northwest Chicago, near the heart of Little Poland, three Russian women in their fifties are struggling to complete a vocational training class and learn more English so they can get jobs in their new land. All three were design engineers back home and have deep technical experience. But what does the presence of design engineers

from Minsk mean for the young African-Americans and Puerto Ricans in the room who are products of Chicago's dysfunctional public schools? Breaking out of the tough neighborhoods on Chicago's west side will be harder than ever.

Or take eastern Los Angeles, which has emerged as a major center for manufacturing designer jeans. Guess Inc. and other high-fashion companies subcontract much of the work to immigrant entrepreneurs from South Korea, Vietnam and China. These Asians then set up sweatshops employing Mexicans, Hondurans, Salvadoreans and Guatemalans. Before they lost their jobs, Cristobal Perez and Emilia Hernandez, a Mexican couple with three children, had to work on clothes at home to meet their weekly quotas and earn the minimum wage—a clear violation of U.S.



ly not accepted by most of the world. This tone is most evident in coverage of China and Japan. Our values reign supreme. Any country that doesn't recognize that is failing. That view is at the heart of the argument that Japan, the world's second largest economy and the home of some of the world's most powerful companies, is "finished." To Americans in the auto industry losing their jobs in the face of Japanese competition, this is of scant solace.

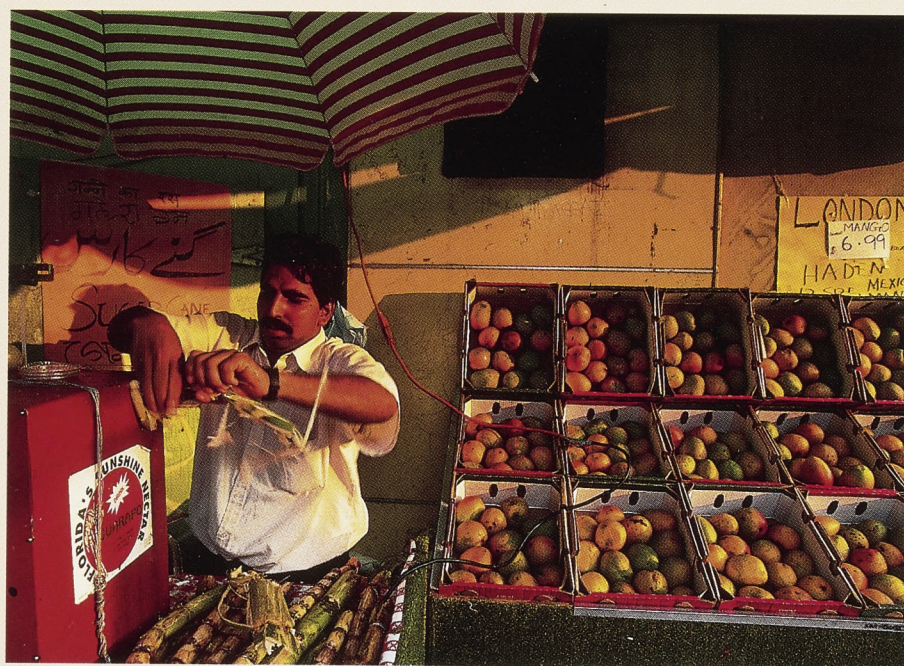
Ideological bickering between liberal and conservative camps also hampers the media's ability to think deeply and dispassionately about such subjects as multiculturalism, language policy, immigration and education. All these subjects are important to how well America can assimilate newcomers at home and compete more effectively abroad.

Lastly, there seems to be a search for a new enemy in the world, whether it's China, North Korea, Cuba or Iran. One senses a hunger to go back to the old days, when America could shoot now and ask questions later. Sometimes this phenomenon isn't as ideological as it is visceral. There was a strong whiff of Yellow Peril in the coverage of how Asian-Americans made campaign contributions last year. Intriguingly, the stories fell largely flat in the heartland. Nobody cared.

Rather than peddling old 'isms and pursuing old demons, the mighty gatekeepers have a self-interest in learning how to illuminate America's global paradox. Just as IBM clung to the mainframe too long, it's time to reinvent. Not because it's the noble thing to do but because it's necessary to survive.

I am not arguing that what happens abroad is not important. Far from it. There will always be a place for news from distant lands. But the mix of stories needs to be sweetened to include more that directly touch people as they work and shop and live. The solution is to ask simple questions about the things that affect Americans most directly and then follow the threads of the answer no matter where in the world they lead to. That's the kind of information that might help Americans succeed in the global economy, just as they did in the Cold War. And it will revive the gatekeepers' relevance to their customers.

Holstein, past president of the OPC, worked for UPI and Business Week before joining U.S. News & World Report as a senior writer.



law. I find myself asking brutally simple questions: How many people are entitled to the American dream? And can we maintain American ideals about fair play and opportunity at home, much less halfway around the world?

To respond to these bewildering times, the press must point the way toward pragmatic solutions to real problems. What are the policies and the real-life models that help communities and people cope with globalized flows of money, technology and goods? Clarity will sell. That means dropping or at least challenging some of the old ideological arguments that created a gridlock between liberal and conservative voices in the media.

One is the free trade argument taken to extremes. Bite the bullet, feel the pain. Losing your job is fine. Let the magic of the market take care of you. The media meisters who harbor these inclinations deny that there is any role for government in society or the economy even though some of the things that America has done best—conquering outer space and launching the Internet, for example—occurred at the intersection between business, universities and government. The vast majority of Americans understand that.

Another thread is false triumphalism, which proclaims that American values are universal, even though they are clear-



"We Don't Know What's Going on Overseas"

By Peter Galuszka

Sitting in the lobby at United Auto Workers Local 425, Zig Zsigray is as gloomy as the winter morning outside. The 41-year-old worker's job assembling Econoline vans and Thunderbirds may be in jeopardy at Ford's sprawling Lorain Assembly Plant across the street. Rumors persist that Ford may shutter the Ohio plant. But Zsigray feels he can't rely on the media to help him understand the situation. "I don't think the working class people are served at all," he says. "We, as workers, don't know what's going on overseas. We don't know what's happening at the plant." The rumors proved true and in March Ford said it would discontinue its Thunderbird and Cougar lines, furloughing 1,800 people in Lorain.

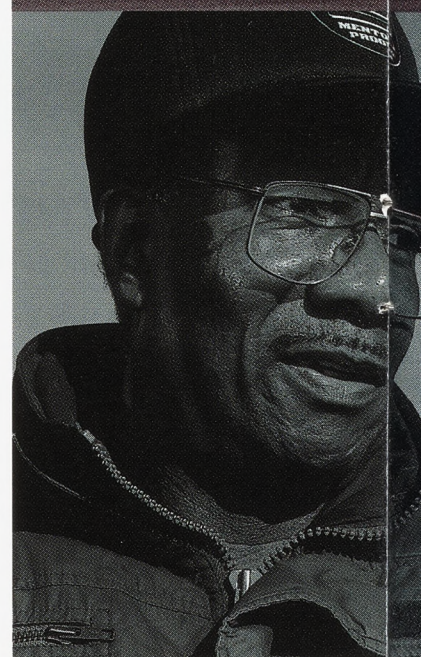
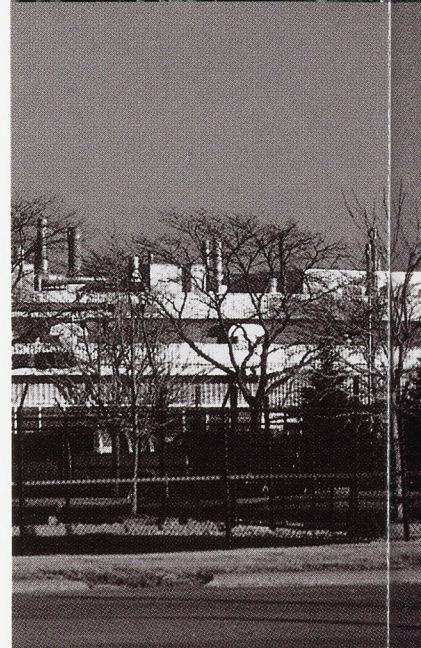
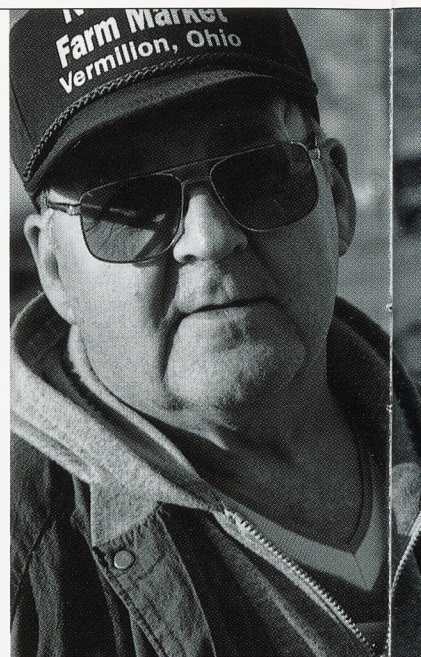
Andy Kramer has a similar opinion about how the media explains economics, albeit from a very different vantage point. One of the nation's top labor lawyers, Kramer is a partner at Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue, whose posh offices in Cleveland, 30 miles east of Lorain, feature picture window views of Lake Erie. He represents management in labor disputes for such blue-chip firms as Bridgestone-Firestone and General Motors, yet he couldn't agree more with Zsigray. "The press doesn't do a good job of relating to the average worker what's going on," he says.

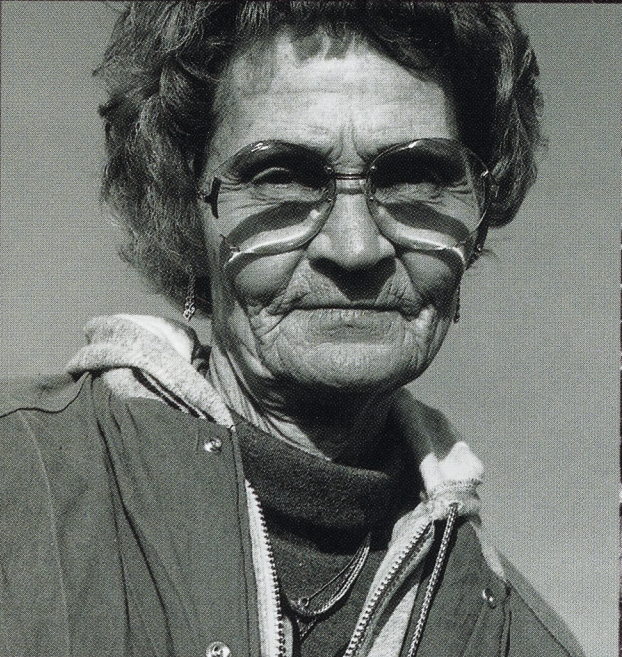
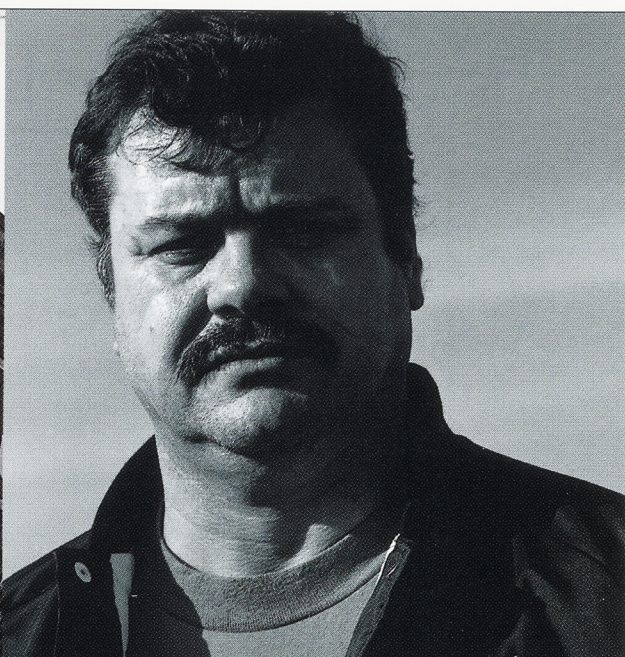
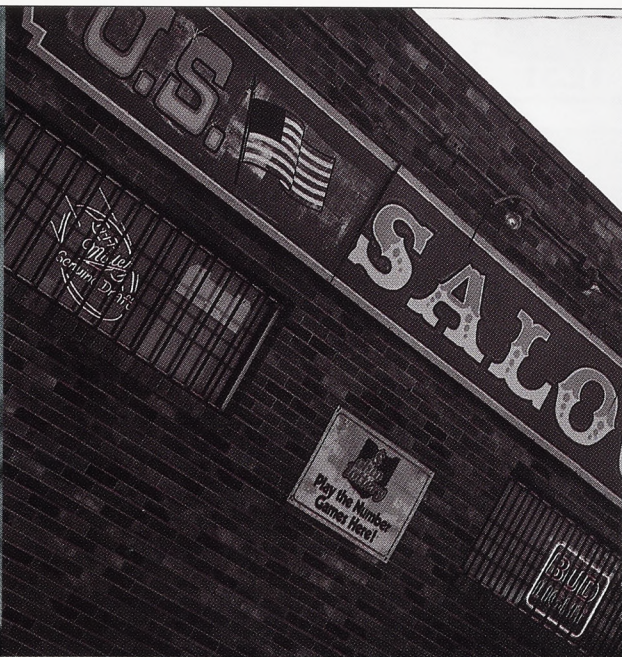
Curious indictments, indeed. The media has more access and better technology than ever before. Economies are becoming more closely linked, unleashing tremendous forces that are quickly reshaping how huge multinational corporations do business. They are shuffling production across the globe according to new trade pacts, gyrating currency exchange rates, gambits to enter new markets and manic demands to be more competitive, cut costs and prop up margins. Millions of jobs are at stake. So rank-and-file workers need better news and more sophisticated analysis of how the new world economy affects them.

Does the media serve them well? Apparently not, although there's wide disagreement over why and who's at fault.

One view has it that the popular media, including local television stations and newspapers, lack the sophistication to understand the mammoth economic changes afoot. Instead, they concentrate on easier issues, such as crime, sports and escapism. "The popular media does a generally weak job," says Stan Wearden, associ-

WORKERS AT FORD'S LORAIN PLANT SAY THE MEDIA DOESN'T DO A GOOD JOB EXPLAINING THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC FORCES THAT MAY COST THEM THEIR JOBS

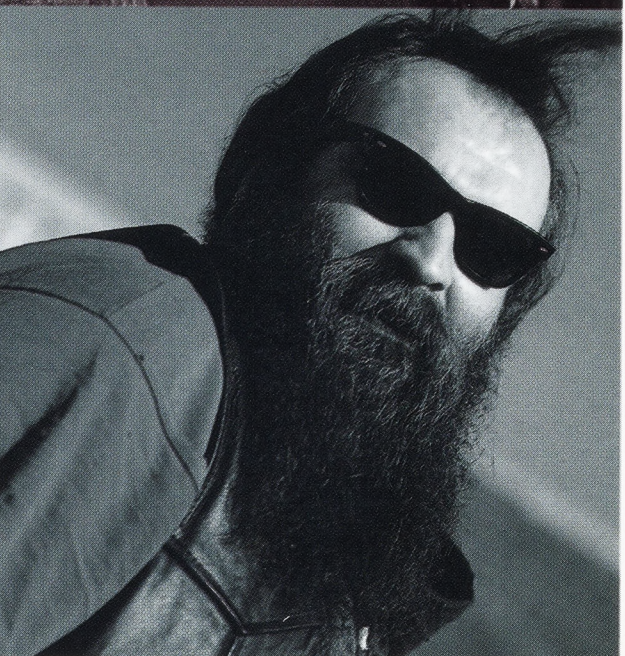




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TEST



1. Why is this man smiling?
- A) He represents a company that employs 70,000 Americans.
 - B) He represents a company that was named "one of the 100 best companies to work for in America."*
 - C) His dog just learned how to catch a Frisbee.
 - D) All of the above.





**WORKERS
WHILE AWAY
UNCERTAIN
HOURS
AT THE U.S.
SALOON**

ate professor of journalism and mass communication at Kent State University. "You don't see much in a local newspaper unless there's a threat to a local branch of a company. Even in that case, you don't see much background from an economic or cultural perspective."

Local electronic media does even worse. "They don't do a particularly good job of getting into depth in this kind of story," Wearden adds. "Yet globalization has a profoundly harsh effect on the American worker and on workers in developing countries, too."

Does the national media do much better? Wearden says yes, noting that such outlets as the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Atlantic Monthly* and PBS's "NewsHour with Jim Lehrer" have more resources and take more thoughtful positions explaining economic globalism.

Yet other experts say the national press is too hampered by self-imposed ideological blinders to explain economic trends very well. The national press, says Mark Anderson, an international economist and director of trade affairs at the AFL-CIO in Washington, has bought so heavily into free trade theories adopted by Ronald Reagan and subscribed to by the

Clinton White House that it is loath to examine any of the downsides in any depth. "The press tends to downgrade any negatives associated with international economic integration or globalization or whatever cliché you want to use," says Anderson.

Complex issues are simplified and divided into debates between "retrograde protectionists and enlightened free traders," says Anderson. The latter push the happy view that everyone's boat rises when trade barriers are lifted. Thus, everyone benefits, whether they are in Lorain, Ohio, or Penang, Malaysia. The problem, Anderson says, is that the real debate isn't a simple matter of market access, but reducing government's role in overseeing the flows of capital and protecting the private property of big corporations operating in other countries. "People are not considered in that equation," Anderson says.

One example is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that dismantled trade barriers among Mexico, Canada and the U.S. Anderson argues that if NAFTA were a matter of exchanging Ben & Jerry's ice cream for Corona beer, there'd be no argument about its benefits. "But NAFTA's really about General Motors

trading with General Motors," he says. GM doesn't just want to make cars in Mexico, it wants to take advantage of cheap labor to get a cost edge when it exports those cars into the U.S. "So, what's good for GM Mexico isn't good for us GM workers here," says Anderson. The company argues that its global strategy increases its competitive strength, which safeguards the jobs of hundreds of thousands of its employees.

The issue gets even more complicated in matters concerning local content. A globalized economy means more U.S. companies must sell more products in other countries. But to get other countries to agree to buy their products, U.S. firms must often open production facilities in those countries.

The new plants add to the global production overcapacity that afflicts such companies as Ford.

Consequently, more ostensibly American products are made increasingly with foreign parts by foreign workers. In the case of U.S. aircraft maker Boeing, author William Greider notes in his new book, *One World, Ready or Not*, that only 2% of the parts used in 727 jetliners during the 1960s were foreign-made. By the 1990s, that amount shot up to 30% in the case of new 777 aircraft, as Boeing cut deals to accept foreign production of parts for its planes in exchange for access to their markets. As such, Boeing is fast-becoming a "virtual corporation" with its brains in Seattle, but its workforce scattered around the world. "This could work for Boeing," writes Greider. "It was Puget Sound and the American machinists who would have some problems."

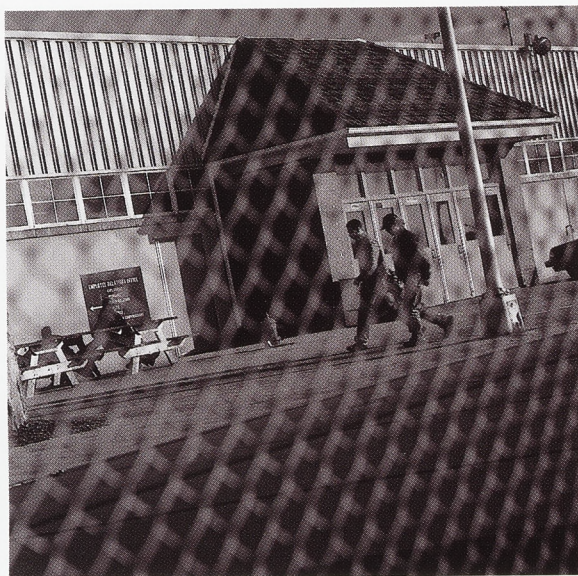
So who's better suited to report such issues? "The locals," says Anderson of the AFL-CIO. "They report more accurately, because they are looking at the economic impact of some event on the community. Whereas the *Wall Street Journals* don't talk about it on the basis of any real world reality, but in regards to some economic theory and whether it is

in the best interest of company 'x' or 'y'."

For evidence, look back at the gritty town of Lorain, population 70,000. Gregory Korte, business editor at the 43,000-circulation *Morning Journal*, struggles to keep abreast of two big industries that dominate the local economy. One is the Ford plant; the other a massive steel mill owned by USS/Kobe, a partnership of U.S. Steel and Japan's Kobe Steel. Neither has done well.

Korte, 25, says he has had huge difficulty in covering the auto story. Rumors about a closing have been circulating for months. They picked up in intensity when the *Wall Street Journal* published the reports in December. Even though his paper couldn't pin anything down, the *Morning Journal* ran seven pieces about the possible shut down. By contrast, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, a large regional paper, shunted the news inside its business section.

Korte has his work cut out for him because he is the only business writer



among a staff of about a dozen reporters and has only a few years experience. Routine coverage consists of statements by company or union spokesmen and occasional tips from workers. Stock market analysts offer a broader perspective, Korte says. But there are clear limits to

what the paper can do. An obvious takeout would be a piece explaining Ford's global overcapacity and how it might affect Lorain, says Korte. But his paper doesn't have the resources to do it. When the plant actually did close, the *Morning Journal* did a reputable job with a special issue while the *Cleveland Plain Dealer's* coverage was much more shallow.

Like the *Morning Journal*, hundreds of smaller newspapers and television stations across the country don't have the resources, either. Meanwhile, many in the national media shun such coverage because it earns weak ratings or conflicts with fashionable ideas about international economics. Until that changes, people like Zig Zsigray will

remain in the dark about the powerful global forces that could make their jobs disappear.

Galuszka served two tours in Moscow for McGraw-Hill and Business Week before transferring to Cleveland for Business Week.

PHOTOGRAPH BY BETSY MOLNAR

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What's So Great about Miami?

(It's So Close to the United States)

By Juan O. Tamayo

If there's a perfect place to test journalism's latest mantra for reviving interest in international news, "bring it home to the readers," it would be Miami.

We have the largest proportion of foreign-born residents of any major U.S. city—35% of our 2 million people—and a culture so foreign that we joke we like living here because it's so close to the United States.

Foreign tourists make up nearly half of an industry that brings \$7 billion to the region and accounts for 104,000 jobs. Miami's airport is the second busiest in the United States, tops in international cargo.

The city has 49 consulates, 44 foreign banks with about \$17 billion in deposits, 26 binational chambers of commerce and 20 foreign trade offices. International trade amounts to 26% of the region's total.

Miami literally lives off the world, especially Latin America. Everything that happens down there affects our business, our trade, our schools, our lives.

Crises in Cuba have brought successive waves of refugees who now play a strong role in the region's economics, politics and culture. Economic booms in Argentina bring tourists, and economic busts bring job-seekers. Civil wars in Nicaragua in the late 1970s and 1980s added 150,000 refugees to our labor force, and troubles in Haiti brought a mass of new students to our already overburdened schools.

Food kiosks offer everything from Colombian arepa pancakes to Argentine empanadas. Twirl the radio dial and you'll find music and talk shows programs from Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and Peru. Another joke: Miami is just like Latin America, except the telephones work.

But do Miamians care more about international news because foreign events affect them more? No

more than the average suburban American soccer mom, it turns out.

The *Miami Herald* has done some pretty sophisticated polling on this, using everything from telephone surveys to "turn-the-knob-if-you-like-it" sessions as stories flash on a screen. The overall results are clear: Miamians want stories on eight key issues: crime, education, local government, state news, sports, consumer protection, health and medicine, and weather and the environment.

Those are not so far from the "hot buttons" that *Time* magazine credited—or perhaps it blamed—NBC and Tom Brokaw for pushing repeatedly in its recent ratings dash past CBS and ABC.

Two stories on neighborhood crime, for example, got a "very interesting" from 64% and 80% of those polled. The highest foreign story hit 43%, but the average of all foreign stories was a mere 26%.

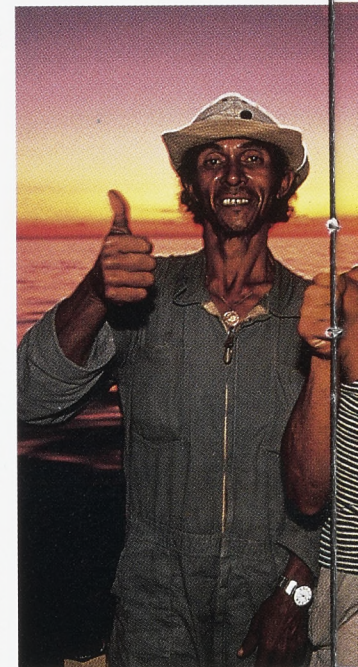
That's about the same level of interest in international news shown by almost every national poll of newspaper readers.

The *Herald* took a lot of ribbing some time back for setting out those eight key issues as guidelines for making news decisions and giving them the politically incorrect moniker of "Pillars of Excellence."

What few outsiders noticed was that the *Herald* adopted nine Pillars of Excellence. The one poll-unaided addition: Latin American news.

Why did the *Herald* do this? You can call or write for the official answer. Mine is that we recognized we have a special duty to cover Latin America, a duty to inform our readers even if they don't ask for it, even when polls show they clearly prefer to read about

**CRISES IN
CUBA HAVE
BROUGHT
WAVES OF
REFUGEES
TO SOUTH
FLORIDA**





PHOTOGRAPHS (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP); JACK KURTZ/IMPACT VISUALS, MAGGIE STEBER/AURORA, LES STONE/SYGMA



neighborhood crime.

That, however, goes against the grain of the many "answers" being proffered these days to the problem of low audience interest in foreign news.

Bring it home to the readers, say some. Lure our audience to a story on Mexico's economic crisis by noting that it's pushing emigrants north. Rivet them to a tale on the German auto industry by explaining how it affects jobs in Detroit. Seduce them into a look at Qatar by highlighting its oil wealth.

It's Journalism 101, with a dollop of Economics 101. We assume that readers care more about a story when it hits them in the pocket. They suffer, or they profit,

A SURGE IN IMMIGRANTS DOESN'T ALWAYS RAISE INTEREST IN FOREIGN NEWS

therefore they read.

But if that's the only answer we can offer, how can we "bring home" stories about Hutu-Tutsi butchery in Rwanda, about war in Tajikistan or the spread of Islam in Algiers? Stories that have no direct impact on us at all.

Write it engagingly, say others. Write it for a general audience, not for a herd of foreign-policy nerds. Don't get lost in too many extraneous complexities. Don't slip into baseball.

But good writing isn't the only answer either. And to write simply about a complex subject may be oversimplify it.

The Cold War is over, say still others. Write it differently. Forget about the old

world and write about international trade, about economic integration. Important topics both, no doubt.

But how should the end of the Cold War affect our coverage of the Middle East? Most correspondents I know are proud of the fact that they did not allow Washington's views to color their reporting of the Salvadoran civil war between a repressive government and leftist guerrillas. Yet now we're told that we must change because the Soviet Union threatens no more.

Perhaps Walter Lippman had an important answer when he complained that, "when mass opinion dominates government, there is a morbid derangement of the true functions of power."

Substitute media for government, and maybe we begin to see a third answer.

Yes, poll after poll shows that only a minority of American readers really favor international news. Based on those results, we accept the premise that most Americans don't care much about foreign news, and we try to change our reports to capture more readers.

Getting more readers is never a bad idea. But how about devoting staff, money and space to foreign stories simply because they appeal to a particular sector of our audience—a minority, admittedly, but a large and influential one.

Publish or broadcast foreign stories because they are important. Bring them home to your readers, if you can. Write them beautifully, if you can. But write them. Broadcast them.

Some 20-25% of your audience will appreciate it. Your most educated, high-income and assiduous readers. Top members of your community. And they will tell others that you're a good newspaper, a good magazine, a good television network.

American Airlines has 20% of the domestic flight market. Packard Bell has 15% of the American personal computer market. Miller has 20% of the U.S. beer market.

All those companies no doubt want a bigger share. But all are also trying to give the best service possible to their current customers. We should too.

Tamayo, who was based in Central America, the Middle East and Europe before becoming the Miami Herald's foreign editor in 1993, now is a correspondent again covering Cuba and Latin America.

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Teaching Our Kids the World

By Dori Jones Yang

My daughter, Emily, is among the 26 kids in Natalie Stien's fourth- and fifth-grade class in Bellevue, Washington, who are lined up at the door, coats and backpacks on, waiting for the bell that will release them from school for the day. As usual, Ms. Stien is leading them in their daily recitation of "good-bye" in 17 languages. The bell rings after the 11th, "shalom," and the kids dash out the door.

On the wall of her classroom are T-shirts from around the world, with place names or foreign words on them. That afternoon, as on every Friday afternoon, Ms. Stien has shown slides of one of her foreign trips, this one to Wales. Earlier in the day, the kids did jumping jacks and other exercises to the sounds of "uno, dos, tres, quatro." In February, Ms. Stien took the kids out for dim sum and taught them how to make fried wontons as part of the Chinese New Year celebration. The kids get to handle stamps and coins from other countries and learn place names by playing the game of geography. They practice drawing freehand maps of the world and labeling countries. In April, each child does a report on a foreign country. The teacher also has kids bring in news articles each week to discuss and asks them to find the relevant locations on a map.

In Ms. Stien's class, my daughter is getting a rich exposure to the world that I didn't get at McKinley Elementary in Youngstown, Ohio, in the early 1960s. I remember one Arab boy in my class, whom I helped with his reading. But we didn't learn anything about the Arab countries. In fact, I

don't remember learning much about any foreign countries.

What I do remember, vividly, is the feeling of wonder I had in Indonesia, at age 22, when I discovered Javanese dance, gamelan music, batik patterns and shadow puppetry. Here was a country, fifth most populous in the world, with a colorful culture and history I had never once, in 16 years of education, been exposed to. In my American textbooks, Japan did not exist before 1865, Korea did not exist before 1950, and Indonesia didn't exist at all.

My interest in things foreign started in high school French class, proceeded through a French history major in college and took a sudden turn Eastward when I accepted a two-year fellowship to teach English and study Chinese in Singapore after college. The folks in Youngstown couldn't figure out the logic of that move. A one-semester course called "Asian Politics" did little to prepare me for the complexity of cultures, languages, and political systems. It wasn't until I went to graduate school in international relations that I understood the impact of exchange rates, the World Bank, global trading organizations and the different paths to economic development.

Many U.S. children can't name the country south of the border, yet we expect an informed debate about NAFTA's impact

I'd like to believe that the contrast between my daughter's school experience and mine demonstrates solid progress in the U.S. approach to global education over the last 30 years. The truth, I've discovered, is more complicated. For one, I sought out Ms. Stien because of her interest in, as she puts it, "multiculturalism." Other teachers at her school have developed different special interests, such as computers, videocameras, classical music or French impressionism. So Emily might easily have gone



through elementary school with minimal exposure to foreign cultures. "Some programs in schools are 10 times better today than in the past," says Andrew F. Smith,

president of the American Forum for Global Education in New York. "But on the whole, American children have relatively little knowledge of the world." Aside from a reestablishment of the teaching of geography and a broadening of world history beyond Western civilizations, he sees little progress over the last few decades.

That's a sad commentary. We buy toys made in China, electronics made in Korea, shoes made in Italy, and cars made in Germany, yet most Americans have never heard of the WTO or GATT. Many American kids can't name which country is located directly south of the United States, yet we expect an informed national discussion of the impact of NAFTA. When Deng Xiaoping died this February, many U.S. adults couldn't tell you what he did for China; how can these same voters understand what it means for major employers like Boeing if we take away China's MFN trading status?

It's critical for schools to change their approach to global education. Teachers should not view knowledge of the world as a fun optional activity or a preparation for

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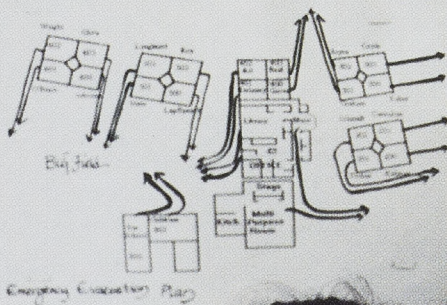
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(sigh chen)



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because textbooks have been tossed out. That's part of the reason American test scores have been falling; no standardized test can capture the wide variety of subjects taught in schools across the nation. And while local control has its appeal, the lack of standards has meant that some children have excellent exposure to the larger world while others have virtually none.

The absence of global awareness clearly has a price. My husband, for instance, is the China sales representative for a heavy-equipment man-



**EMILY'S CLASS.
SEATTLE
SCHOOLS TEACH
CHILDREN WHO
SPEAK 77
LANGUAGES**

travel; it's vital for an informed citizenry. For the next generation of Americans, chances are their boss, their competitor or their customer will be foreign. With much of our debt in foreign banks and most of our consumer goods made overseas, the U.S. can't afford a foreign policy subject to the mood swings of an ill-informed electorate. Rhetoric about "those poor starving people in Africa" and "that great sucking sound" appeals to the ignorant and skews our foreign-policy choices.

On the West Coast, there's a heightened awareness of the need for world knowledge. Seattle, a global crossroads, has a rich diversity of national origins and strong trade ties with Asia. The Seattle city schools teach children who speak 77 different languages and dialects, with about 13% in need of English-as-a-second-

language instruction. Seattle offers Japanese in several elementary schools. In Bellevue, a city outside Seattle, kids have the option of a Spanish immersion program starting in kindergarten, an international school starting in sixth grade, or an international baccalaureate program started this year for 11th and 12th graders. Fully one third of the kids in Emily's class, ever since preschool, have been Asian or Asian-American.

But across the nation in the Knoxville, Tennessee, suburb where my sister Trudy is raising her children, the awareness is not so high. When she lived in southern California, her sons made international cookbooks and booklets of family holidays from different countries. Teachers represented a variety of ethnic origins. In Tennessee, she discovered a more homogeneous group of teachers, one of whom taught about "tor-tee-lahs" in an effort to expose kids to Mexican culture. ("You grew up in California, so I insist you pronounce it tor-tee-yahs," my sister corrected her son.)

Clearly, U.S. schools, controlled by local school boards and buffeted by wave after wave of reform, have a checkered record in teaching global issues and foreign languages. Unlike many countries in Europe and Asia, the U.S. has no national standard curriculum. In fact, even within one city or within one school, sometimes the curriculum varies widely, in part

manufacturer based in the Midwest. Every time a new machine is delivered, U.S. engineers and technicians go to China for installation, maintenance and repair. Many are people who never took advantage of courses in foreign languages or cultures. One takes granola bars because he hates Chinese food; another had to be told that hugging is not an acceptable way to greet Chinese women. Sometimes cross-cultural ignorance leads to disputes. Assuming China to be a backward country that couldn't act fast, one group insisted on returning to the U.S. for Christmas, rather than giving the Chinese a chance to resolve the problems in starting up a new machine. By throwing extra people on the project and making it a priority, the Chinese were ready on time, but the American engineers had left.

But the fallout could be much greater. The same lack of mutual understanding that causes disputes over contract terms, on a larger scale, could exacerbate conflicts over borders or political leadership. The U.S. has huge stakes in our long-term relations with China, Japan and Korea, yet some Americans will tell you Tokyo is the capital of China. Religious conflicts have raged into violence and war in Serbia, Northern Ireland and the Middle East, yet many high school graduates think "Palestinian" is a synonym for "terrorist." It took years for ordinary Irish-Americans to realize that funding the IRA was not necessarily honoring their ethnic heritage.

There are some encouraging moves in

American education toward the establishment of national standards. For the last few years, educators from every discipline have been meeting and creating lists of skills and knowledge that students should have. The National Council for the Social Studies lists "Global Connections," "Culture," and "People, Places and Environments" as three of its 10 themes. The American Forum for Global Studies recommends that American children study at least one culture in depth and at least one foreign-policy or global issue in depth.

Another promising trend is a plethora of opportunities for teachers to increase their knowledge of world affairs: in-service training courses, seminars, summer institutes in the U.S., and overseas programs. Teachers have shown a high interest in these opportunities. Students, too, are participating in a wide range of exchange programs, from soccer teams to church youth groups. Through business, sister city delegations, family travel and visiting relatives, many have the chance to visit foreign countries. As both teachers and students go on for-

eign exchange programs, they not only deepen their own understanding but also gather books, newspapers, menus and other materials from foreign countries that help bring those cultures back into American classrooms.

One advantage children in the United States have is the immigrant population. Like my daughter, who has classmates born in Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, Poland and Romania, many American kids have a chance to interact daily with children from foreign countries. Although the focus of U.S. schools is on assimilating these kids and teaching them English, sometimes teachers will also find ways to use their presence to broaden the cultural knowledge of their classmates. In recent years, educators also are making great efforts to teach about the diversity of the American population. Ancient history texts now include sections on ancient China and India, and children learn about African music and Latin American festivals as part of the effort to understand the cultural heritage of their peers. Even physical education teachers are more likely to include such activities as Filipino

bamboo-stick dancing. The payoff: American kids are more respectful of ethnic differences.

In the long run, for Americans to compete effectively in the world's technology- and knowledge-based industries, the highest priorities have to be improving student skills in math, science and reading of their own language. But at the same time, American schools should develop curricula that provide everyone with a minimum knowledge of foreign cultures and global issues. With no clear enemy, some Americans think there is no sense of urgency about global awareness. They are wrong.

After Deng's death in February, I went to my daughter's class. I tried to explain what Deng did for economic freedom and didn't do for political rights for the Chinese people. They nodded their heads. I can only hope they got not only an inkling of understanding but also a thirst to learn more.

Yang, Hong Kong bureau chief for Business Week from 1982 to 1990, is co-author of "Pour Your Heart Into It: How Starbucks Built a Company One Cup at a Time" (Hyperion, September 1997).

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Canada's Multicultural Challenge

Backlash?

By Christopher Chipello

The shifting demographic mix is plain to anyone who hasn't visited Canada's major cities lately. Toronto, a city so Waspy it didn't have a St. Patrick's Day parade until 10 years ago, is now laced with Indian, Thai and Caribbean eateries. Along Montreal's St. Lawrence Boulevard—the traditional boundary between the French Canadian east end and the Anglo west end—Vietnamese and Lebanese merchants mingle with the Portuguese and Italians who set up shop a generation ago. In certain suburbs of Vancouver, it's possible to get by speaking nothing but Cantonese. In Calgary, home to the country's oil industry, a taxi driver is more likely to sport a turban than a cowboy hat.

Canada, like the U.S., is a country of immigrants—only more so. Roughly one in six Canadians is foreign-born; the U.S. ratio is one in 12. If the U.S. is a melting pot, Canada is a salad bowl. In keeping with its self-image as a gentler, more tolerant society, Canada seeks to incorporate newcomers into a "cultural mosaic."

While the debate over "multiculturalism" is relatively new in the U.S., the concept has been embedded in official Canadian policy for more than a quarter century. As in the health-care debate of the early 1990s, the Canadian experience is likely to serve as a reference point for U.S. policymakers worried about creeping bilingualism in states with burgeoning Hispanic populations. It may also offer hints about how America's overall immigration debate will develop.

There are some distinctly Canadian elements of multiculturalism. The great bulk of Canada's population lives within

200 miles of the U.S. border in a belt that stretches more than 3,000 miles from East to West. To resist the natural tug of North-South trade flows, Canada's 19th-century national builders strung a railway from coast to coast and tried to attract hardy immigrants to help settle the empty spaces along the way.

Internally, the country had to cope with what a British colonial official described in 1839 as "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state." His report recommended steps to assimilate French Canadians, whose ancestors had begun to settle the land before the British conquest in 1760. Early on, immigration was seen as a way to counter the then-prolific birthrate of Catholic Francophones.

Through the 19th century, both the U.S. and Canada drew immigrants primarily from Protestant countries in Europe, with Britain accounting for a particularly large proportion of Canadian newcomers. Over time, southern and eastern Europe supplied increasing numbers of immigrants to North America. But since the 1960s, when Canada and the U.S. overhauled regulations that had effectively restricted immigration from other regions, the flows have changed dramatically. In 1967, three quarters of Canadian immigrants came from Western Europe and the U.S., notes Don J. DeVoretz, an immigration economist at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia. Today, more than 60% come from Asia.

Canadians, as a whole, embraced multiculturalism because they saw it as a check against "biculturalism," Canada's traditional French-English duality. But Quebec nationalists view the phenome-



multiple solitudes with no central notion to bind us."

Bissoondath's book was greeted warmly by Quebec reviewers and by populist conservatives in the rest of Canada. Others reacted bitterly. One commentator—himself of South Asian origin—branded Bissoondath a "coconut": brown on the surface, white inside. Canada's then-minister of state for multiculturalism suggested that he was off base because "there isn't any one Canadian identity; Canada has no national culture."

Whether you agree with Bissoondath or not, it's clear that he broke a kind of informal taboo that had stifled debate of multiculturalism in mainstream Canadian media. The debate stirred by Bissoondath's best-seller coincided with growing evidence that Canada's experiment with multiculturalism was producing an unexpected backlash. As early as the late

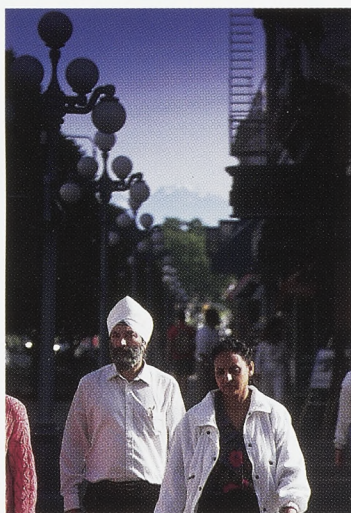
1980s, it was apparent that the dramatic influx of so-called "visible minorities" from non-Western cultures was beginning to create friction. Nowhere

**CANADA'S
MAJOR CITIES
NOW DISPLAY
STUNNING
ETHNIC
DIVERSITY**

was this more evident than in Vancouver, where Hong Kong Chinese, seeking to hedge against the British colony's eventual return to rule by mainland China, poured money into local real estate, driving values to heights that priced many locals out of the market. Some buyers from Hong Kong, unattuned to Western landscaping notions, upset long-time residents by razing trees and shrubbery to make way for enormous homes that covered entire lots.

By 1994, tensions were starting to bubble in other regions of the country. In Alberta, a group including former members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police filed suit to challenge an RCMP policy allowing Sikh officers to wear turbans. When a judge upheld the policy, the former Mounties were flooded with letters urging them to pursue the case to a higher court. In Montreal, controversy swirled over whether Muslim girls should be allowed to wear hijab in school, echoing a similar debate in France over the symbolism of the Islamic veil.

English-first advocates in the U.S. sometimes cite Quebec separatism as an argument against bilingualism. The argument is misleading. Francophones have



than 20 years ago, argues that the stratagem has largely succeeded outside of Quebec, bolstering resistance in other provinces to any form of special constitutional status for the French-speaking province.

Ironically, though, Bissoondath and other critics of state-run multiculturalism argue that the policy has actually hindered the integration of immigrants into Canada's mainstream. Multiculturalism "has heightened our differences rather than diminished them," Bissoondath wrote in a 1994 treatise on Canada's "cult of multiculturalism." The policy "is leading us into a divisiveness so entrenched that we face a future of mul-

non with deep suspicion. Many saw multiculturalism as a means for Ottawa to position French Canadians as just one among many ethnic communities and Quebec as just one of 10 equal provinces, rather than one of the country's "founding peoples." Neil Bissoondath, a Trinidad-born writer who moved to Canada more

comprised a major portion of Canada's population since its founding. Quebec accounts for nearly 25% of Canada's 30 million people, and more than 80% of Quebecers are primarily French-speaking. What's more, immigrants in Quebec are massively anti-separatist. That's why then-Premier Jacques Parizeau, following the narrow defeat of the 1995 independence referendum, bitterly blamed the loss on "money and the ethnic vote."

Still, some thoughtful observers see at least a potential parallel between Quebec and the southwestern U.S.'s Mexican community. "The possibility looms that in the next generation or so we will see a kind of Chicano Quebec take shape in the American Southwest, as a group emerges with strong cultural cohesiveness and sufficient economic and political strength to insist on changes in the overall society's ways of organizing itself and conducting its affairs," writes Stanford University historian David M. Kennedy.

Others see similarities in the African-American community. In a study of U.S. and Canadian values several years ago, U.S. sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset

concluded that American blacks "have assumed a role comparable to that of Francophones in Canada. . . . Much as Francophones have legitimated cultural autonomy for other non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians, the changing position of blacks has helped other American groups to claim rights. In effect, the U.S. is replacing the ideal of the melting pot with that of the mosaic."

As in the U.S., economists have begun to churn out studies lately on the effects of immigration in Canada, and these, too, point up some lessons for the U.S.

While both countries have emphasized family unification as a criterion for accepting immigrants in recent years, for example, Canada also has continued grading independent applicants with a points system based on such factors as education, work skills, age and knowledge of English or French. Studies show that immigrants accepted on the basis of the points system move more smoothly into Canada's work force—a finding that provides ammunition to U.S. critics who

argue that Washington should pursue a similar approach.

One prominent U.S. critic, Harvard University economist George J. Borjas, has cited recent evidence undercutting previous conclusions that immigrants to the U.S. move rapidly up the economic ladder. Ethnic differences in socioeconomic levels are likely to become a hot topic, and failure to adjust immigration policy now could set the stage for a powerful anti-immigration backlash later, he warns.

In the end, Canada's main lesson for the U.S. may lie in the need for more open, rational debate of an issue that's laden with ideological overtones. As the grandson of an illiterate Italian immigrant to the U.S., this writer was brought up to believe in the melting pot—and still does. Dispassionate coverage of immigration policy can only help ensure that North America remains a model of openness for most of the world.

Chipello was based in Tokyo for The Wall Street Journal before assuming his current post in Montreal.

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The Overseas Press Club of America ANNUAL AWARDS



By Michael S. Serrill, Awards Chairman

Political chaos in Africa, civil war in Afghanistan and the reordering of the global economic order dominated the news from abroad last year and also the Overseas Press Club Awards. The Africa story was especially prominent, with no fewer than four winners and three Citations for Excellence featuring articles, photos and film footage of war and upheaval in Rwanda and Zaire, Liberia and the Sudan. A *Baltimore Sun* series on the Sudan featured what must be the first instance, in modern times at least, in which reporters bought a slave.

Outside Africa, foreign correspondents offered award-winning words and photos on the victory of the ascetic Taliban in Afghanistan and on subjects as various as the subsiding

conflict in Bosnia, the depredations of an Italian swindler who looted MGM and the cultural politics of the world's population surge. Award-winning entries in economic reporting concerned themselves with Asia's big boom—China—and its big bust, Japan.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the judges in our 17 award categories for the gift of their time and for their support of the Overseas Press Club. Without their help, none of this would be possible. On a sad note, I would like to record that one member of our judging team for the past couple of years, Eleanor Prescott, a respected producer at ABC News, passed away earlier this year. We will miss her superb judgment.

*Award entries
spanned
the globe,
from Africa to
China*

1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

JOHN-THOR DAHLBURG

Los Angeles Times

"Afghanistan: Legacy of Fear"

Dahlburg's series is a comprehensive and compelling look at how the 17-year-old war in Afghanistan has seeded fundamentalist Islamic terrorism and insurrection around the world. The fruit of a year's research, the articles follow Afghanistan's holy warriors, many of them armed and trained as anti-Soviet guerrillas by the U.S., through their participation in a dozen conflicts in locales like Algeria, Bosnia and the Philippines, then back to Afghanistan, where the militants have been prominent in the victories of the fanatical Taliban.



CITATIONS: Eric Bellman, Donald Macintyre

(Bloomberg News)

"Japanese Rigged Markets"

Michael Specter *(The New York Times)*

Reporting from Chechnya

2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire-service interpretation of foreign affairs

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, DAVID P. HAMILTON, JATHON SAPSFORD, ROBERT STEINER

The Wall Street Journal

"Unmasking the Mandarins:

The Failure of Japan's Bureaucracy"

In an enterprising investigative portrait of a bureaucracy out of control, the *Journal's* reporters show how the "amakudari" system of placing government officials in private-sector jobs helped lead to massive economic collapse in the Japanese banking and real estate industries. At the heart of the crisis was the accumulation of mountains of unpayable debt, including \$258 billion owed by Japan's National Railway system.



WILLIAMS



HAMILTON



SAPSFORD



STEINER

CITATIONS: Anthony Shadid *(The Associated Press)*

"Islam's Challenge"

Dudley Althaus *(Houston Chronicle)*

"Black Gold, Broken Promises"

3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL

Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

CORRINE DUFKA

Reuters

"Liberia: From a Dead Man's Wallet"

Seldom in recent memory has there been a more brutal and chaotic breakdown of law and order than in the civil war in Liberia, which subsided and then broke out anew in 1996. Dufka put her life at risk to produce shocking images of the slaughter that were broadcast around the world.



4. THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Best photography in magazines and books

YUNGHI KIM

Contact Press Images/Time/U.S. News & World Report

"The Forgotten Comfort Women of Korea"

In the months after Kim's touching photos of former Korean sex slaves known as "comfort women" were published, first in the Asian edition of *Time*, then in *U.S. News*, Japan finally apologized to the women and offered reparations. Kim's images capture the sadness and loneliness of the now elderly women, many of whom have suffered illness as a result of their abuse and have been ostracized in their own country.



CITATIONS: Giorgia Fiorio *(Contact Press Images for Life)* "French Foreign Legion"

James Nachtwey *(Time)*

"Death of a City: Kabul, Afghanistan"

5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

Best photography in newspapers and wire services

CAROL GUZY

The Washington Post

"Exodus: Return to Rwanda"

Traveling with the flow of refugees following the Tutsi-Hutu slaughter in Rwanda, Guzy captured the essence of the indomitable human spirit in her extraordinary documentary work on refugees in Zaire. Her work, produced under great personal duress, gives us a vital visual record of the displaced families and their struggle to survive.



CITATIONS: David Guttenfelder *(The Associated Press)*

"Upheaval in Liberia and Zaire"

David Turnley *(Detroit Free Press)*

"Taliban: The Sword of Afghanistan"



The Robert Capa Gold Medal

CORRINE DUFKA

LIBERIA DESCENDED INTO ALMOST COMPLETE CHAOS WITH RIVAL GANGS AND ARMIES ENGAGING IN A BEWILDERING AND BRUTAL BATTLE THROUGH THE STREETS OF MONROVIA. GOVERNMENT TROOPS COULD NOT CONTAIN THE FIGHTING, EVEN WITH THE PUBLIC EXECUTION OF SUSPECTS.

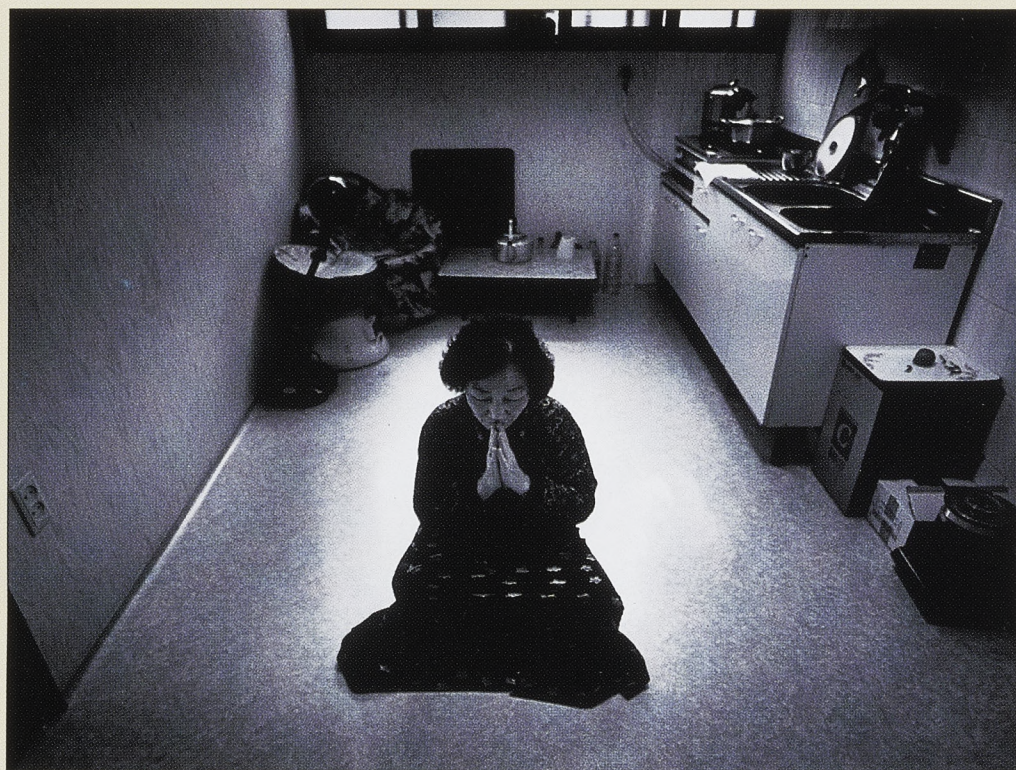




The Olivier Rebbot Award

YUNGHI KIM

FOR DECADES, KOREAN
WOMEN WHO WERE
FORCED INTO
PROSTITUTION FOR THE
JAPANESE MILITARY
SUFFERED IN SILENCE.
BUT NOW THEY HAVE
BEGUN SEEKING
REPARATIONS FOR
THE PAIN
THEY ENDURED.

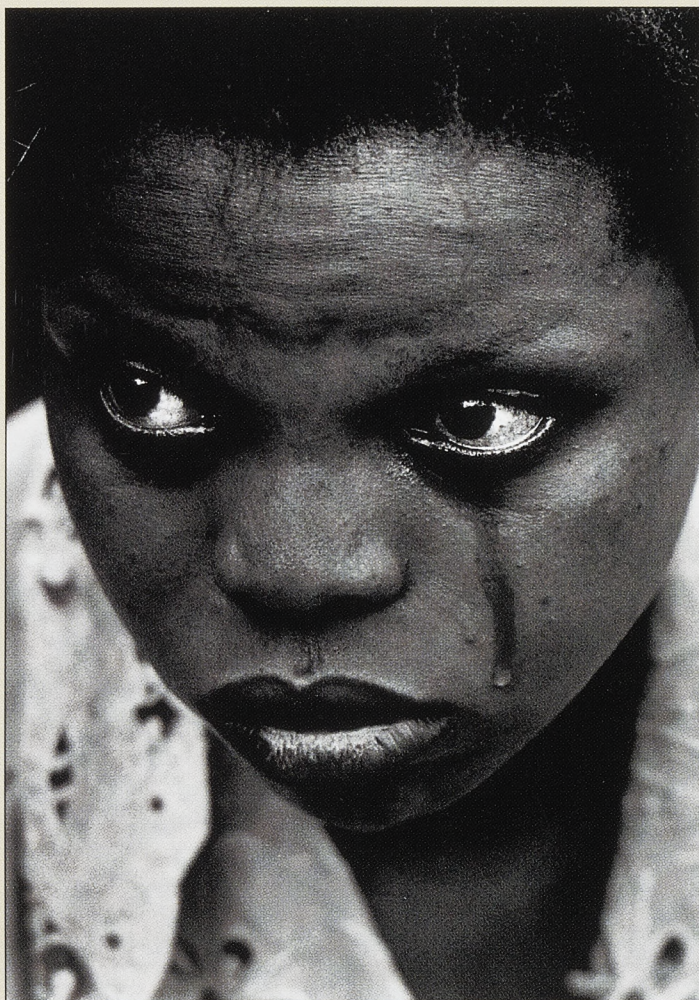




The John Faber Award

CAROL GUZY

IN ZAIRE, RWANDAN
FAMILIES WERE RIPPED
APART AS RIVAL MILITIAS
FORCED HUGE
MIGRATIONS OF
INNOCENT PEOPLE.
THOSE WHO COULDN'T
MAKE IT SIMPLY DIED
ALONG THE WAY.



6. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Best radio news or interpretation of foreign affairs

LISA ROLLAND

ABC News Radio

"Land Mines: The Survivors' Perspective"

Rolland delivers an unforgettable earful of horrors from the maimed men and women who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. If this reporting does not make the listener want to ban mine production, nothing will.



7. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

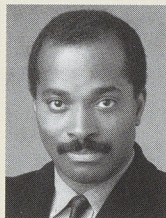
Best TV spot news reporting from abroad

RON ALLEN, CORRESPONDENT

CAROL GRISANTI,
PRODUCER

NBC News

"Rwanda: Another Tale of Tragedy"



ALLEN



GRISANTI

Allen presents close-up reports of a child slowly starving, a refugee forced to share her house with the murderers of her family, a relief worker blocked from delivering basic supplies. His report succeeds admirably in personalizing Rwanda's numbing tragedy of genocide, disease and starvation. Allen's evocative reporting was matched by dramatic camera footage of food riots, street violence and refugee camps where only the dead remain.

CITATION: Brent Sadler (*CNN*)

Reporting from southern Lebanon

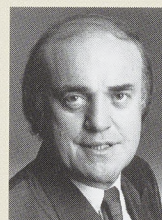
8. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Best TV interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs

PETER ARNETT, BERNARD SHAW, JOHN HOLLIMAN

CNN

"CNN Presents: Back to Baghdad"



ARNETT



SHAW



HOLLIMAN

The CNN correspondents who kept the nation glued to its seat during the Persian Gulf war return to Iraq for a look five years later at what war has wrought. They find Saddam Hussein with a firm grip on power, presiding over a suffering nation, reduced by the international trade and oil embargo to a place where babies are dying by the hundreds for lack of medicine, even as Saddam builds palaces to glorify himself and his regime.

CITATION: Sherry Jones (*PBS/Frontline*)
"Loose Nukes"

9. THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

Best magazine reporting from abroad

**KENNETH AUCHINCLOSS, NANCY COOPER,
GEORGE WEHRFRITZ, MELINDA LIU, STEVEN
STRASSER, DORINDA ELLIOTT, JOHN BARRY,
RUSSELL WATSON, TONY EMERSON,
ROBERT J. SAMUELSON**

Newsweek

"China: Friend or Foe?"

Newsweek's in-depth look at the new China proved almost prophetic as it examined the political, economic and social changes sweeping the world's most populous country. Weaving together insightful pieces from a host of correspondents, the magazine's report probed behind the scenes to determine what is transforming the world's largest surviving Communist nation into one of the world's most powerful economic engines.

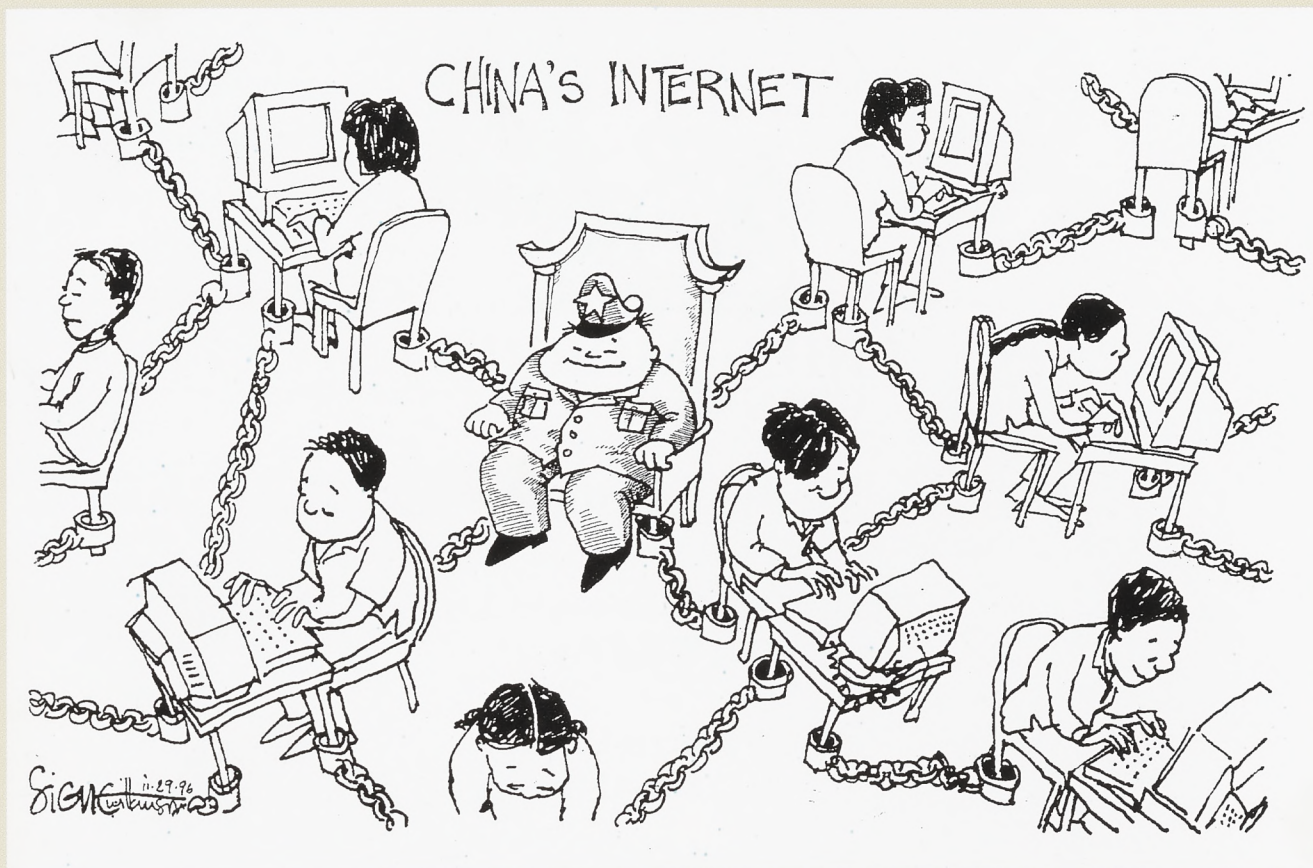
CITATIONS: Michael Parfit (*National Geographic*)
"Emerging Mexico"

Massimo Calabresi, Johanna McGeary,
Alexandra Stiglmeier (*Time*)

"Unearthing Evil in Bosnia"

10. THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Best cartoons on foreign affairs



SIGNE WILKINSON
Philadelphia Daily News

Wilkinson's cartoons, covering subjects as varied as U.S.-China relations, the Middle East and Russia, bring the news home to American readers, dissecting it with the point of a scalpel rather than the edge of a meat ax.

CITATION: Michael Keefe
(*The Denver Post*)





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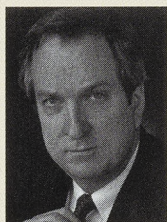
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11. THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in magazines

DAVID MCCLINTICK

Fortune
"The Predator"



This story traces the vast international swindling operations of the rogue Italian financier Giancarlo Parretti, who plundered Hollywood's MGM studios, contributed to a \$25 billion loss at France's state-owned Crédit Lyonnais bank and dabbled in the vast corruption of recent Italian governments. "In the annals of pilgrims who have come to Hollywood seeking sex, grandeur, riches and triumph, the little man who began as a hotel waiter in Italy would wreak more havoc in less time than anyone before," writes McClintick.

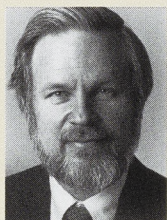
CITATIONS: Peter Engardio, with Jonathan Moore, Christine Hill and Christopher Power (*Business Week*)
"Asia: Time for a Reality Check"
Paul Klebnikov (*Forbes*)
"The Godfather of the Kremlin?"

12. THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services

R.C. LONGWORTH

Chicago Tribune
"Global Squeeze"



Most articles on the impact of economic globalization focus on the United States. Dick Longworth of the *Chicago Tribune* broke the mold by explaining how other advanced economies are trying to cope with profound changes in employment, living standards, government policies and social cohesion. His elegantly written four-part series examined globalization's threat to the German government-business-labor compact, to the French preference for state direction of the economy, and to Japanese protectionism, and compared each nation's response to the dominant U.S. solution: downsizing. His sophisticated analysis of the benefits and dangers of globalization raises fundamental questions about what kinds of economies—and societies—the world is heading towards.

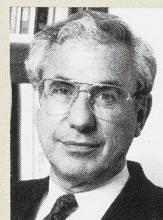
CITATION: Dave Beal (*St. Paul Pioneer Press*)
"China's New Dynasty"

13. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in the broadcast media

ADAM SMITH (JERRY GOODMAN), ALVIN H. PERMUTTER, PETER FOGES

*Alvin H. Perlmutter Inc.
and Thirteen/WNET*
"Adam Smith: European
Crackup?"



GOODMAN



PERLMUTTER

Smith has produced a sparkling, sophisticated look at an important but hard to explain economic issue: Europe's scheduled conversion to a single monetary system. Timely, accessible, yet factually and logically impeccable, the piece conveys the huge political and social stakes involved with a lively narrative and vivid film clips.



FOGES

CITATION: Stone Phillips and Grace Kahng
(*NBC Dateline*)
"Toy Story"

14. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Best nonfiction book on foreign affairs

PETER MAASS

Alfred A. Knopf
"Love Thy Neighbor: A Story of War"



Maass, whose reporting for this book first appeared in *The Washington Post*, describes the violence in Bosnia and his attempts to come to terms with it. He documents what seemed at first fantastic stories of torture and mass murder, and discusses his own fears—physical and moral—as he reports to an outside world that seems not to care. A powerful book about a horrifying conflict.

15. MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Best foreign reporting in any medium showing a concern for the human condition

**LISA ANDERSON, ROBERT BLAU,
KAREN BRANDON, LAURIE GOERING,
KERRY LUFT, STORER ROWLEY, LIZ SLY**

Chicago Tribune
"Gambling with Life"

The *Chicago Tribune* showed laudable enterprise in tackling a problem, overpopulation, that is near-universal, studying it abroad and bringing home some lessons to its domestic audience. The paper devoted a year of coverage in seven countries to explore the problem of why people have more children than they can afford. The series should be required reading for those who think there is an easy solution to what the *Tribune* called "one of humankind's most vexing problems."

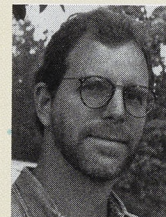
CITATIONS: Tom Gjelten, Robert Duncan,
Michael Sullivan (*National Public Radio*)
"Bridge Over the River Drina"
James C. McKinley, Jr. (*The New York Times*)
Reporting from East Africa

17. THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues

JEFF WHEELWRIGHT

Discover Magazine
"The Air of Ostrava"



How safe is safe where human health and environmental contamination are concerned? The federal Environmental Protection Agency is getting valuable data—and finding more than a few surprises—from the heavily polluted city of Ostrava in the Czech Republic. Jeff Wheelwright's detailed article, appearing in an issue of *Discover* that was devoted to how the public perceives risk, went to the heart of the issues environmentalists must face.

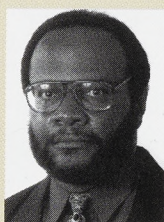
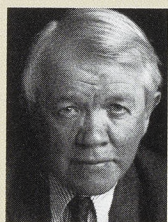
CITATION: *Worldwide Television News*
"Roving Reports: Whales"

16. THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Best reporting in any medium dealing with human rights

**GILBERT A.
LEWTHWAITE,
GREGORY KANE**

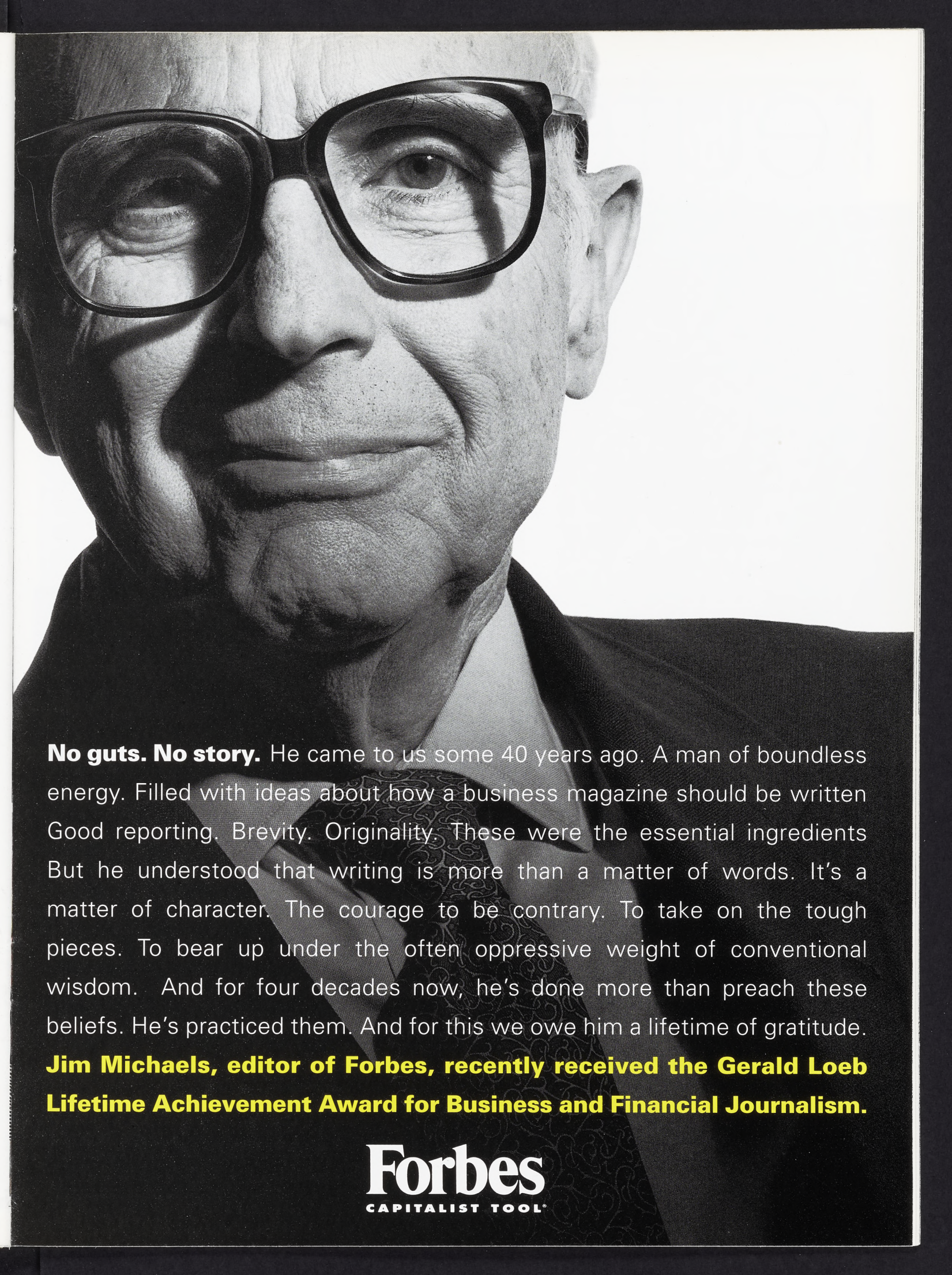
The Baltimore Sun
"Witness to Slavery"



LEWTHWAITE KANE

This series of articles on the slave trade in Sudan was based on a simple idea—to test official denials of a slave trade by going to Sudan and trying to buy a human being. By turns dogged and thoughtful, the two reporters chronicle their travels to southern Sudan, where they buy two boys, ages 10 and 12, for \$1,000, promptly returning them to a family from which they had been stolen in 1989. Kane's reflections on his African-American ancestry put the drama in context.

CITATION: Sara James, Lisa Hsia (*NBC Dateline*)
"Sudan Slavery"



No guts. No story. He came to us some 40 years ago. A man of boundless energy. Filled with ideas about how a business magazine should be written. Good reporting. Brevity. Originality. These were the essential ingredients. But he understood that writing is more than a matter of words. It's a matter of character. The courage to be contrary. To take on the tough pieces. To bear up under the often oppressive weight of conventional wisdom. And for four decades now, he's done more than preach these beliefs. He's practiced them. And for this we owe him a lifetime of gratitude.

Jim Michaels, editor of Forbes, recently received the Gerald Loeb Lifetime Achievement Award for Business and Financial Journalism.

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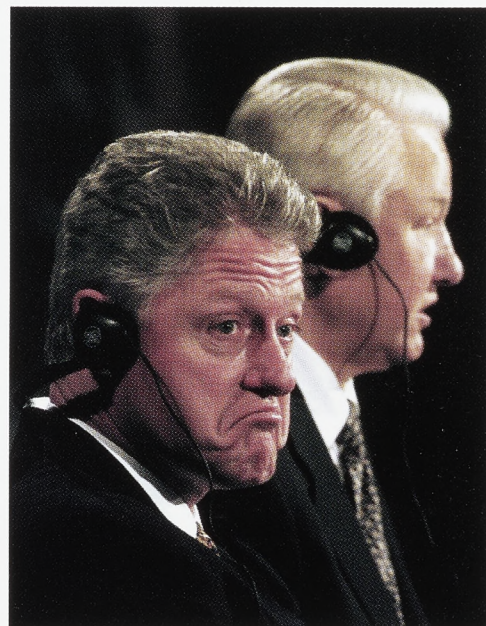
Stephan Jaffe



Jeff Topping



Sam Mircovich



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ABC

THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Matthew Winkler, *Bloomberg News*; Kevin Noblet, *The Associated Press*

Nynex

THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Robert Dowling, *Business Week*; Larry Smith, *Parade*; Steve Rago, journalist

CBS

THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Michael S. Serrill, *Time*; Jan Legnitto, independent producer

Lexis-Nexis

THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

Andrew Nibley, *Reuters*; Ed Jackson, *World Press Review* (retired); Dwight Sargent, *Hearst Newspapers* (retired)

Newsday

THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Thomas Kent, *The Associated Press*; Richard Hornik, *Time*

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THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Larry Martz, *World Press Review*; Allan Dodds Frank, *CNN Financial News*; John D. Williams, *The Wall Street Journal* (retired)

Forbes Magazine

THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

John Polich, *Fordham Graduate School of Business*; David Kirkpatrick, *Fortune*; Sarah Miller, *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*

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THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Sylvia Nasar, *The New York Times*; Alex Taylor, *Fortune*

Anita Diamant Literary Agency

THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Robert Teitelman, *Institutional Investor*; Michael Hirsh, *Newsweek International*; Christopher Power, *Business Week*

The Estate of Madeline Dane Ross

THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Robert Sullivan, journalist; Dr. Steven Knowlton, Hofstra University; Rula Amin, *Worldwide Television News*; Christopher Wren, *The New York Times*

The Estate of Eric & Amy Burger

THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Jay Mathews, *The Washington Post*; Linda Fasulo, *NBC*; Barry Kramer, *The Wall Street Journal*

AT&T

THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Steven S. Ross, Kenneth Goldstein, *Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism*; Andrew Revkin, *The New York Times*



Toward a More Enlightened American Engagement

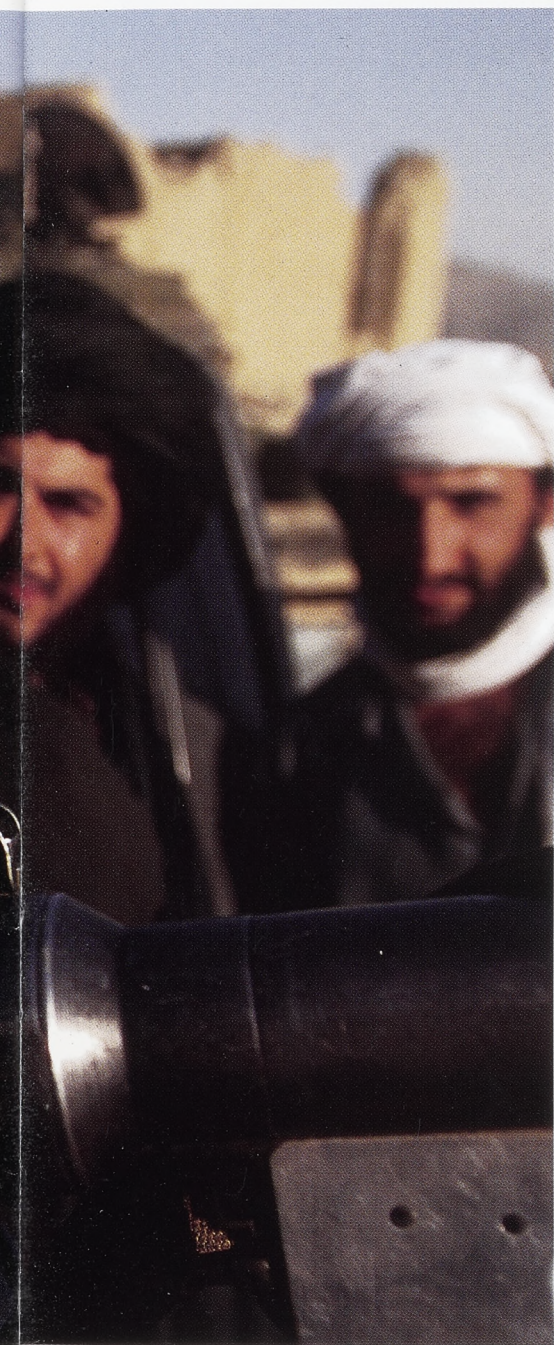


PHOTOGRAPH BY PER-ANDERS PETTERSSON/BLACK STAR

By Roger Cohen

Having adopted the notion that the United States is "the indispensable nation," President Clinton never tires of repeating it. He has a point: In Bosnia, in Africa, in the Middle East, nothing—or at least nothing of significance—moves without America. But the idea has a corollary. It is, of course, that other nations are somehow more dispensable. A post-Cold War American arrogance, however well-meaning, colors the Clinton mantra.

Not since the end of World War II has the United States enjoyed such unrivaled



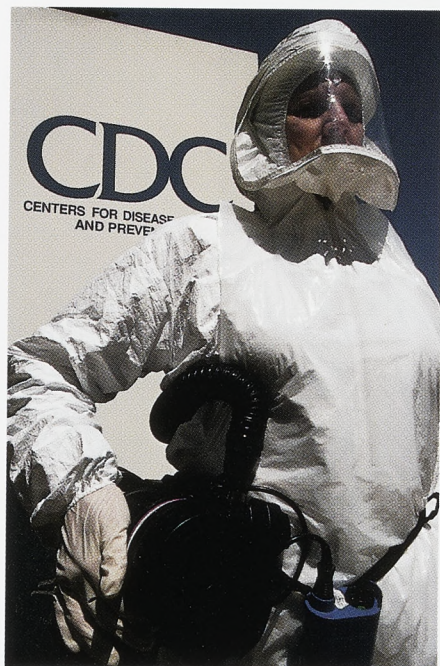
**AMERICANS
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AFGHANISTAN
(LEFT) AND
THE ISLAMIC
FUNDAMEN-
TALISM THAT
FUELED THE
WORLD TRADE
CENTER
BOMBING IN
NEW YORK**

power; never before has its power been so visible. Military might, Big Mac burgers, the Pentium chip, the Internet and Hollywood are recasting the world in America's image. Abroad is less foreign; even American politics, as John Huang showed, no longer stop at water's edge. The French, unhappy with this state of affairs, have taken to referring to "the velvet hegemony" of the United States. Hegemony used to be a word reserved for Moscow.

Yet, as America and the world move closer, Americans seem less interested in world affairs. Indicators from high-school geography tests to the sharp scaling-back of the networks' overseas bureaus suggest that world news is less than irresistible. This is understandable: America no longer has an enemy to engage on a planetary scale. Since the end of the So-

viet menace, only Saddam Hussein, with his B-movie mustache, has managed to incarnate evil and so render foreign affairs widely accessible. But the retreat from a more complex, less immediately compelling world is dangerous.

It is dangerous because it is paradoxical: An America more linked to the world than ever is less attentive to it. Ignorance, in this instance, is not bliss; it is irresponsibility. For such an attitude bodes new conflicts, rooted in the very extent of American power. Europeans do not like lectures on Cuban trade. Latin Americans do not like lessons about drug policy. Islamic extremists see the American way of life as evil; others, like the French and Japanese, merely question the assumption that it is inherently superior. The Chinese reject finger-wagging on human rights



EXPERTS LIKE THOSE AT THE CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE EBOLA VIRUS... COULD IT SPREAD?

PHOTOGRAPHS (TOP, BOTTOM): PATRICK ROBERT/SYGMA, SHEPPARD SHERBELL/SABA

issues. Basques blow up a McDonald's outlet. Behind all this irritation lie concerns about perceived American infringements of sovereignty, questioning of America's moral authority to judge and disquiet over a world more culturally and commercially uniform.

The Americans believe that their ideals are universal, so such tensions are perhaps inevitable. But the source of the tensions must be explained to Americans through stories that illuminate them. At a time of revolutionary change, this is particularly important. The rapid, American-led shift of civilization headed by the likes of Microsoft and Intel is the source of fabulous innovations, but it is also disorienting to many. It therefore seems bound to produce a political reaction.

One is already apparent in France, where the traditional sparring with the United States has been given a sharper

Ignorance of the world is not bliss; it is irresponsibility ...for such an attitude bodes new conflicts, rooted in the very extent of U.S. power

edge by the growing conviction that American-led market forces are moving jobs elsewhere and turning the world into a global American theme park. The rightist National Front party of Jean-Marie Le Pen has successfully exploited such concerns. The fact is that Andy Grove's and Bill Gates' new technology destroys borders, sweeping them away like quaint vestiges of an old world. America adapts well to such change because it is the source of the technology and because its open, flexible society is well-

geared to a frontierless world. But other, less self-confident nations feel threatened, especially when Americans seem blithely uninterested in the world they are changing.

The number-one bestseller in France now is Viviane Forrester's *L'Horreur Economique*. The horror in question is a kind of American octopus, devouring hu-

man dignity in the name of global productivity. The book, almost devoid of statistics, is full of odd fantasies, but it has evidently struck a chord. The unemployed, Ms. Forrestier writes, today "undergo a planetary logic" that she likens to a tornado or cyclone sweeping jobs out of France. "Shame should be quoted on the stock exchange," the book says. "It is a major component of profit." Another bestseller is called simply: *Will France Disappear?*

Clearly, Americans should be aware of such specters. They may come back to haunt the United States. Clinton, no ideologue or visionary, has proved a highly competent manager. Much of that management skill has gone into selling America. The "outreach" has worked: Wall Street rides high, his re-election campaign enjoyed worldwide financing. Never before has the United States—or the Democratic Party—been so financially or economically interwoven with the world.

The number of Americans working for foreign companies in the United States has more than doubled since 1980 to nearly five million; imports have also more than doubled over the past two decades. Countless American companies, among them Nike, are heavily dependent on Asian labor. Gearing America to the world has generated wealth and jobs.

Clinton has been much less good, however, at engaging Americans emotionally in the world, at lifting hearts, at explaining why American "indispensability" is good for mankind, rather than simply good for a small part of it. Ever an Arkansan, never a Berliner, Clinton has, it seems, tended to view the world through the narrow prism of the domestic political advantage he could gain from it. Call it the Huang doctrine. Bash Castro. Mock Boutros. Refuse to pay the United Nations budget. Pander to wealthy Asians. Many Americans, in various guises, have adopted the doctrine, lusting more to mull the world than to understand it.

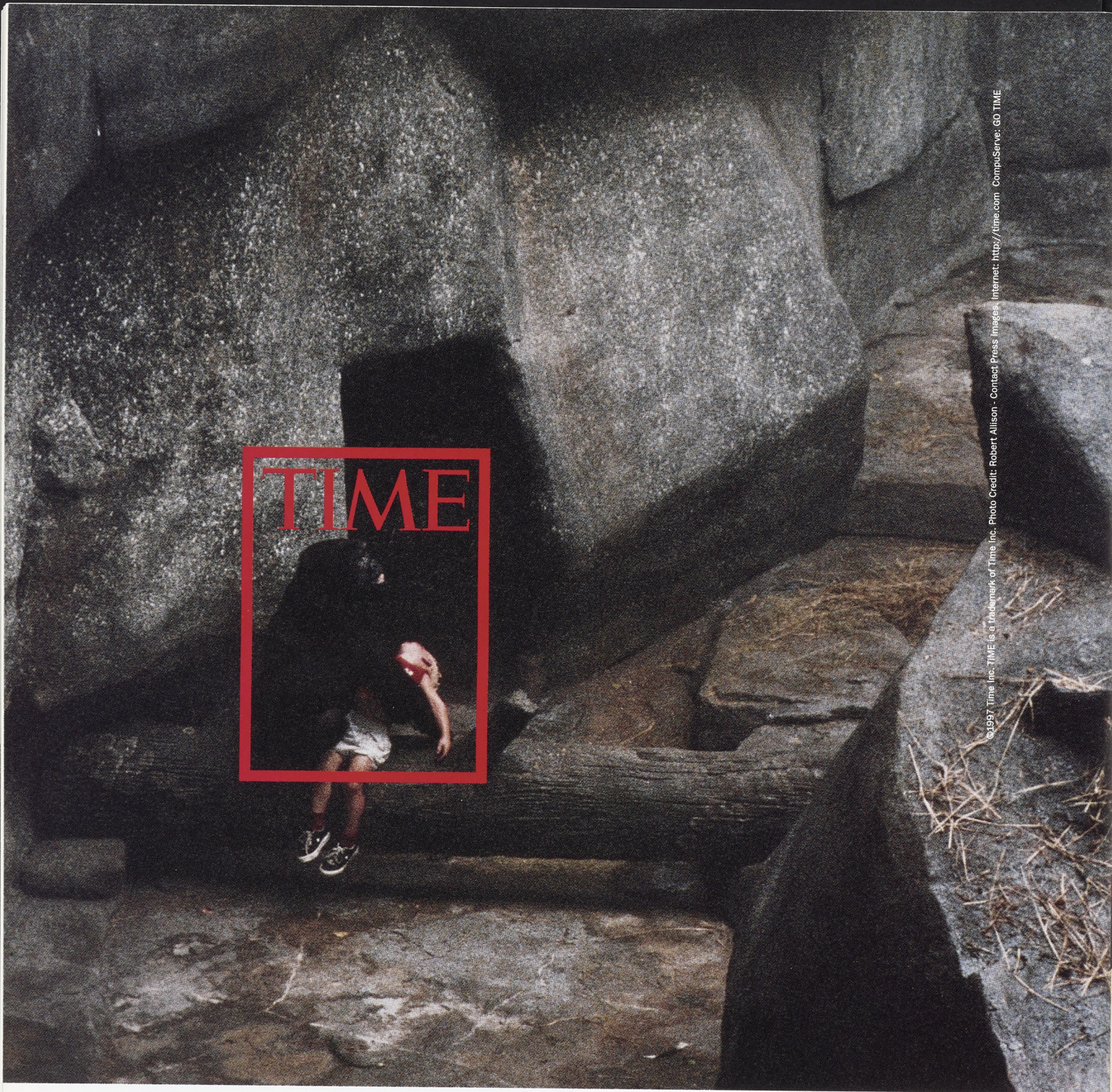
But a world viewed principally as a



INSTABILITY AND POVERTY IN MEXICO AND LATIN AMERICA ARE LINKED TO THE WIDESPREAD PRESENCE OF DRUGS IN THE UNITED STATES



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source of money, or distraction, or support when needed—a world that sometimes feels misunderstood or taken for granted—is also one that may ultimately be less receptive to American interests. A crazed gunman on the top of the Empire State building and a bomber in the bowels of the World Trade Center are just two expressions of anti-American anger with roots abroad.

It appears essential to engage Americans again in a debate over ideas. When the world was caught in an ideological war, that was not difficult. To be interested in foreign affairs was also to engage the mind in the battle between Leninism and the free market. But a plague of intellectual complacency has followed the fall of the Berlin Wall.

This has been most evident in the epidemic of "victimhood." As Bosnia showed, it is far easier to understand "victims" than to work out who is responsible for creating them. Victimhood, to use an increasingly useful word, thus attracts emotions and dulls intelligence. Like the weather, that unfailing

source of modern drama, it has a facile appeal to the television viewer. Victims are all over the place.

This is now a world where the American president more often looks lachrymose than pugnacious, more often wipes his eyes than bangs his fists. Why? Because in this sentimental culture, bereft of an obvious enemy or an obvious dialectic, other victims are natural objects of empathy.

Explanations then become secondary.

But they are more crucial than ever. A world no longer bipolar is also one that presents far more opportunities. The end of superpower rivalry has opened new, fluid possibilities for limited intervention: The Powell doctrine is no longer adequate to the times. Nor is global humanitarianism. Bosnia was one case where earlier and decisive military action might have saved a country as well as tens of

*Is America's
approach to
the world
guided by
public
relations or
principle?*

thousands of lives. But the cases for such actions have to be made and can only be made within the broad context of a serious debate about America's interests and responsibilities in the world it dominates.

Such a debate, if properly and widely engaged, would bring home to Americans why the notion of zero body bags is dangerous nonsense: no soldier worth his salt is ready to kill

but not be killed. America cannot command respect while an army sustained at an annual cost of about \$250 billion is vulnerable to the first image of an American corpse. Such an approach, for foreigners, is suggestive of a country whose fiber has been undermined and whose approach to the world is guided by public-relations management rather than principle or even long-term strategic interest. The French, even in their current moral

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trough, lost 56 men in Bosnia; nobody demurred.

Life and death exist—not merely on television screens—and sometimes world affairs are about the struggle between them. But in an increasingly undifferentiated world where Bosnian refugees, a Hutu corpse (or is it Tutsi?) and 23 million stateless Kurds flit across a screen, or perhaps no more than a corner of a screen, information tends to have a strangely disembodied quality. The ability to be engaged is easily lost; certainly, in America, it has been eroded.

Iwould come away from the Bosnian war with the fetid smell of misery still in my nostrils, the last knots of fear still unraveling in my gut, the last images of desolation still clutching at my mind, and find myself quite quickly in some place like Frankfurt airport looking at vending machines selling Billy Boy condoms in packages emblazoned with German blondes, and American girls with outsized backpacks complaining about their need for a shower, and brightly illuminated windows full of every designer la-

bel under the sun. It was not easy, in such a place, to remember, feel, be angry, think straight. Clinton's America can be a bit like Frankfurt airport.

Once, after emerging from Sarajevo and seated in a business lounge in Frankfurt, I watched the O.J. Simpson criminal trial, then nearing its climax. Tens of millions of Americans were also watching it. Two Americans from Los Angeles were seated near me.

"The guy's guilty as hell," one said, "but I hope they don't convict him." "Why shouldn't they convict him?" asked the other. "Because if they do, the blacks will burn down Los Angeles and do you understand what that will do to our real estate prices?"

War-weary, disgusted by international hypocrisy over Sarajevo and the continuing siege there, I was in a sensitive mood. The conversation captured a cyni-

Watching the O.J. trial was deeply revealing about American sensibilities

cism and narrow-mindedness—as well as a disregard for truth—that seemed to me to reflect America's approach to the war and even, at times, Clinton's view of the world. A few months later, about the time that Simpson was acquitted, America did act and secure a peace. It was too late for Bosnia, but it was better than nothing. To act more swiftly in the future and to be the gen-

erous, inspiring power that the American spirit demands, the United States needs to convince its people not just that foreign policy is awesome, as Madeleine Albright recently put it, but that it matters on Main Street. Much more than real estate prices are at stake.

Cohen, who is based in Paris for The New York Times, is completing a book on the Balkans conflict.

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Does U.S. Foreign Policy Matter



By Evan Thomas

During the Cold War, no American president could really be a president without a Doctrine, or at least a strategic vision to call his own. Truman expansively offered to protect "free peoples" everywhere, and Eisenhower threatened Communist aggressors with "massive retaliation." J.F.K. vowed to "pay any price, bear any burden," and Lyndon Johnson did—in Vietnam. Nixon went to China and manipulated Russia with détente. Gerald Ford wasn't in office long enough to do much

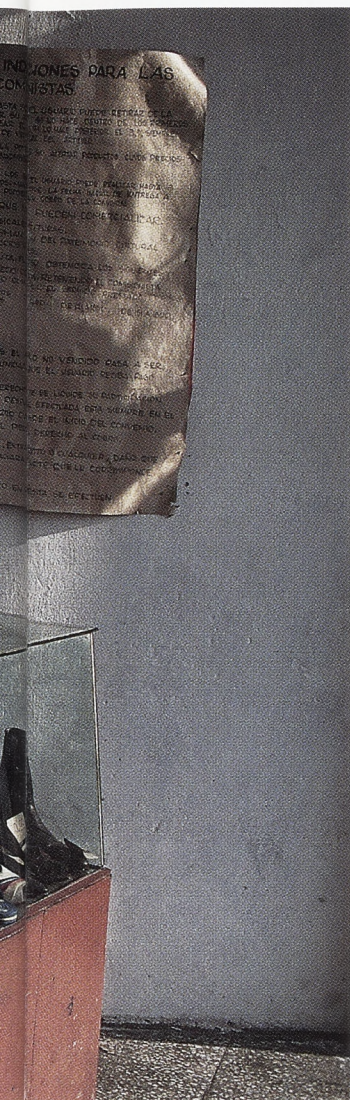
more than free the Mayaguez, but Jimmy Carter idealistically promised to protect human rights all around the globe. Ronald Reagan stood tall against the "Evil Empire", and George Bush envisioned a whole New World Order.

So what does Bill Clinton have to show? In the first couple of years, he mostly ducked foreign policy, allowing his lieutenants to put out conflicting signals instead. In 1993, there was the penny-wise minimalism suggested by the ubiquitous "Senior Administration Official" (Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff, later identified as the author of the now-forgotten

Tarnoff Doctrine). Then there was the "assertive multilateralism" boldly asserted—but later toned down—by Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. at the time. It was finally left to Tony Lake, Clinton's low-profile first-term national security adviser, to enunciate a doctrine of "enlargement," which vaguely meant promoting free markets and democracy—roughly akin, said one commentator, to the Pope endorsing Catholicism.

Will the president stake his name to a more coherent policy in his second term? Clinton is said to be worried about his

Anymore?



WHERE IS THE CONSISTENCY IN A POLICY THAT ISOLATES CUBA BUT ENGAGES CHINA?

be remembered by. Yet a Clinton Doctrine will be hard to fashion, and the desire for one begs a larger question: Given the unsettled state of the world and America's historic ambivalence about its global role, is an overarching vision really necessary—or even possible?

Generally speaking, foreign policy experts have been in a huff about Clinton's perceived lack of vision. How can our

and democracy.

For that matter, America's role as Defender of the West never quite buried the age-old debate between internationalists and isolationists. "We must live as men, not as ostriches," pronounced Franklin Roosevelt at the dawn of American power. Maybe so, but after the sacrifice of World War II, "most Americans just wanted to go to the movies and drink Coke," observed Averell Harriman, one of the statesmen who helped awaken America to the responsibilities of global leadership.

The internationalists were in the ascendancy during the Cold War—it was hard not to worry about the spread of global communism in the nuclear age—but the isolationists rallied from time to time, especially when battlefield casualties mounted in so-called "brushfire wars." There were strong isolationist movements from both the Right—Senator Taft during Korea in the early '50s—and the Left—George McGovern ("Come Home, America") during Vietnam in the early '70s.

Without the threat of communism, the fundamental contradictions of American foreign policy stand more nakedly exposed. Most policymakers are internationalists, but public opinion is fairly isolationist. One reason why Clinton has been unable to articulate a coherent foreign policy is that he likes to please everyone, and there is not a single policy that can do that. Hence Clinton's embrace of fuzzy, feel-good notions like "enlargement."

Clinton is probably at heart an internationalist. But like most recent policymakers, he is not eager to see the United

States pay a price in human lives. Without saying so, Clinton has for the most part minded the rule set by his Republican predecessors, the so-called Weinberger-Powell Doctrine, named after Reagan's Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs under Bush and, briefly, Clinton. The Weinberger-Powell Doctrine holds that American force should be applied only when the goal is narrowly defined,

friends and enemies know what we stand for, they ask. How can Congress decide how much to spend on defense and intelligence? Without a clear standard, foreign policy is too readily driven by emotionalism, by TV images on CNN. There are, to be sure, parochial concerns behind all this handwringing—an activist foreign policy means full employment for think tanks, which have suffered with the demise of the Red Menace. No wonder the pundits and seers of the permanent foreign-policy establishment seem to miss the Cold War.

There is considerable wishful thinking in the nostalgia for the days when East was East and West was West. Containment—resisting the spread of Communism—did serve as a unifying principle for 40 years. But the umbrella of containment was regularly torn by fierce differences between hawks and doves, between the talkers and the warriors, between those who narrowly define American interests as security (national defense) and economics (usually oil), versus those who wished to crusade for freedom

Given U.S. ambivalence about its overseas role, a unifying vision may not be possible

place in history. According to his former political adviser, Dick Morris, the president is stuck in the third tier of presidents. The first tier seems out of reach (or at least one hopes, for it would take a war to create a War Leader like Washington, Lincoln or F.D.R.). The Republicans control Congress, limiting his reach at home. His best hope for posterity, for joining the second tier along with his heroes Teddy Roosevelt and J.F.K., would appear to lie in achieving some triumph abroad. The temptation will be great for Clinton and his advisers to concoct a sweeping doctrine that the president can

the exit clearly marked and victory assured with an absolute minimum of casualties (preferably none). This doctrine has always seemed curious to the heirs of older, more bloody-minded empires. The British and French, diminished though they are, seem more willing to lose soldiers abroad than the United States.

In Bosnia, French and British peacekeepers were dying in not insignificant numbers while American pilots stayed above the fray. The decision to commit U.S. ground forces after the Dayton Accords took backbone by Clinton, as did the American occupation of Haiti. But by and large, U.S. troops have been deployed in the least dangerous areas of Bosnia, and so far only one soldier (who carelessly picked up a mine) has died. The Haitian Defense Force was not likely to put up much of a fight against American paratroopers and marines, even if a true invasion had been required.

Clinton's desire to please—to show U.S. resolve without actually risking U.S. lives—has so far made the president a more symbolic leader than a real one on the world stage. In domestic policy, Clin-

Albright garnered headlines for her outspokenness at the U.N., but it's hard to discern a consistent philosophy beneath the sound bites

ton prefers small, showy gestures—pushing school uniforms and V-chips—to more drastic and thoroughgoing acts, such as cutting entitlement programs or reforming campaign finance. So too, in foreign policy. When Saddam acts up, Clinton will lob a cruise missile or two at Baghdad. (Cruise missiles are a wonderful instrument of symbolism: They don't do much damage, but they don't cost any American lives, either.) These pinpricks may make Americans feel good for a moment, but they don't appear to have

much lasting effect on Saddam.

Clinton may not be able to get away with gestures in his second term. China poses a fundamental choice between the two most basic poles of American foreign policy—between American “values” and “interests.” A cold-eyed view of U.S. economic interests tells us to cultivate China's markets. At the beginning of Clinton's first term, the president observed that in the post-Cold War world the great rivalries and pressing policy choices are more likely to be economic than military. An open, free-market global trading system greatly favors the United States. Certainly, American businesses would like to trade with China's billions.

But what of Beijing's human rights abuses? The current regime appears to be growing more repressive, not less, rounding up dissidents and imprisoning them, cracking down on free speech. Shouldn't Washington insist on democratic reforms? The most meaningful pressure would come from restricting trade, but that runs head-on into America's commercial interests. Balancing between the two is not easy. In his first term, Clinton mostly



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muddled through. If China becomes more aggressive towards its neighbors—if it makes some threatening move against Taiwan—Clinton will be faced with some difficult choices.

Russia will remain a potential threat as long as it has thousands of nuclear warheads which could be re-targeted at the United States in a matter of hours. If Yeltsin dies or is deposed, Clinton may not find such a willing friend in General Lebed, with his Bonapartist overtones. In the Middle East, Saddam is still in power and still interested in developing or buying weapons of mass destruction. (Given that the scariest threat facing the United States may be the growing risk of a terrorist getting a hold of a loose nuke—and that the CIA today is weak and demoralized—one could argue that what the United States really needs is not better thinkers, but better spies.)

If Clinton is, by his very nature, inconstant and prone to waffle, perhaps he will be guided and made more resolute by his principal advisers. His new secretary of state, Albright, garnered headlines for her outspokenness at the U.N., accusing the



Cubans of “cowardice, not cojones,” for shooting down a private plane piloted by emigrés. But it was hard to discern a consistent philosophy beneath the sound bites. During the Reagan era, as a foreign policy adviser to Michael Dukakis, she was dovish, favoring negotiation over con-

frontation. But she was a hawk in the first two years of the Clinton administration, pushing for intervention in Bosnia. It's hard to know what she really stands for. Sandy Berger, the new national security adviser, has never been seen as a strategic thinker. He is an able fixer who gets on well with the president.

Nowhere in the administration is there a nascent Kissinger. The shrewdest operator in the Kissinger tradition was Richard Holbrooke, but he lost out in the race for secretary of state and now waits in the gilded exile of Wall Street. The boldest plunger by instinct may be Vice President Al Gore—but the prospect of his own presidential campaign may make him more cautious. So Clinton may be on his own. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that when the inevitable crisis arrives, Clinton will show good judgment. He has the shrewdness and nimbleness of a great political survivor. The question is whether he can be a leader.

Thomas, based in Washington, is assistant managing editor of Newsweek.

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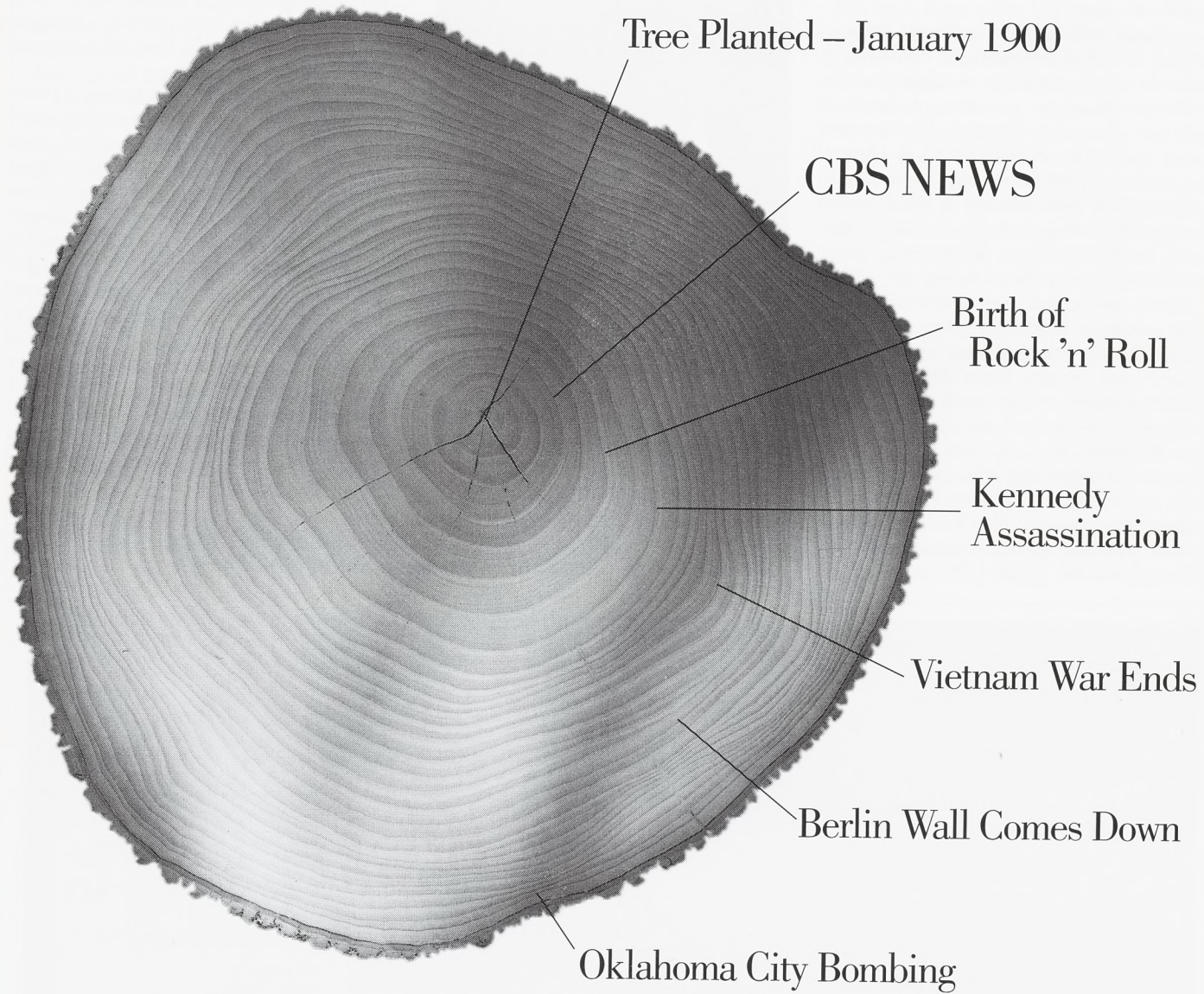
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America and Europe: End of a Love Affair

By Jacqueline Albert-Simon

It's not a revelation that average Americans no longer care about European problems, West or East. There are so many international projects, acronyms and initials—EU, WEU, WTO, OECD, OSCE, to name a few—that people's eyes glaze over. Main Street U.S.A. is preoccupied with issues close to home: jobs, health care, education, family values, community life. If Americans aren't told how a fractional change in commodity prices halfway around the world affects local supermarket prices, why should they care?

When it comes to Europe in particular, it's almost as if Americans want to maintain distant but pleasant relations with an old flame. Americans' love affair with Europe blossomed after World War II. After toasting the war's end and the U.S.'s decisive role, we watched as our government formed ties with Western Europe. 1945: the United Nations was inaugurated in San Francisco. 1947: Secretary of State George Marshall delivered his famous speech at Harvard, advocating the European Recovery Act implemented in 1948 and known as the Marshall Plan. 1949:

disturbed by Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, nine of the West European democracies plus Iceland, Canada and the United States established NATO, and the North Atlantic Treaty was signed. Rapidly developing television news and enhanced radio broadcasts helped fracture the solid indifference of Americans to the global scene.

Back then, the average U.S. citizen, exulting in American dynamism, lamented over Europe's plight and its political vulnerability. Americans were prepared to be magnanimous (the Marshall Plan gave \$13

billion to our allies between 1948 and 1952) as they took advantage of the new accessibility of transcontinental flights. Earnestly or hedonistically, we traveled. Europe was not only a lively element in the American discourse, it was fashionable and fun. If you were clever, you could make a lot of money investing in Europe's future. A true love-in, American-style.

Now, pundits and political scientists claim that those 50 years of post-war passion were no more than a blip on the flat graph of a longstanding and relatively dull relationship between old world Europeans and energetic Americans who left that world behind. The love affair created giddy prosperity and goodwill but also a certain homogeneity of ideas and lifestyle that presaged the indifference we're seeing today.

The terrible war in Bosnia, combined with the chaos in Albania, has exposed Europe's inertia and the desperate need for American influence and power. Whatever history books record of that war, neither the European Union, nor Britain or France individually, will be remembered for their initiative or sustained action.

In America, the war imprinted on the public consciousness an image of Europe

*Europe is no longer
where the action is...
but remember:
Powerful economic,
diplomatic and
cultural links bind
us together*



**ONCE AGAIN,
EUROPE WAS
UNABLE TO
MOUNT A
RESPONSE TO
THE CHAOS IN
ALBANIA**

as ineffectual and unwilling to commit without the U.S.'s leadership. Unfortunately, the frustration and calls to action by the majority of the French public, press

and intellectual community were barely reported outside of France. Had we known more, we might still care.

Does the cooling of America to Europe matter? Of course it does. True, we see Western and even Eastern Europe as a world of stable and democratic states, subject to the same pressures of globalization that we face. But the spirit during those heady years after World War II has mellowed. Americans are older, less innocent, more cynical. Europe is no longer where the action is. Events in Russia, China, East Asia and the Middle East compete with Mad Cow disease and truckers' strikes. Editors need to make hard decisions about what's newsworthy.

If the U.S. public perceives Western Europe as weak and lacking enterprise now, it's losing interest in East European countries for other reasons. Americans cheered

the new freedom of those heroic countries that suffered so under Communism. Very quickly, though, liberated East Europeans turned westward and began learning and adopting democratic free-market ways, sharing our values and encountering the same socio-economic problems. Not compelling news.

Europeans no longer fascinate us, but it's important we keep paying attention. A reinvigorated Western Europe is in the best economic and political interests of the U.S. The fluctuating and confusing cycle in that region now—characterized by double-digit unemployment, increasing immigrant populations and a resultant ugly nationalism—is the dark side of a changing landscape that will brighten with improving economic conditions.

Americans do have a short attention span, but our continental drift is not healthy because of the U.S.'s powerful business links to Europe. Foreign policy is thoroughly commingled with economic policy. Private investments in Eastern and Western Europe have grown consistently since 1991. More than \$370 billion is generated by U.S.-based compa-

*The American
public has little idea
of the huge economic
and military stakes
involved in any
eastward expansion
of NATO*

nies in Europe.

The question of a NATO expanded eastward is the single most important decision to be addressed when NATO foreign ministers meet in Madrid in July. Americans should be made aware of what that means to them in terms of their tax dollars and in terms of their country's responsibilities to a Europe they find less endearing than during the Cold War. Coverage has appeared regularly only since Secretary of State Madeleine Albright declared in February that the plan to invite at least three

East European nations to join by 1999 will go through, Russian and other objections notwithstanding.

Perhaps the most recent example of the U.S. media's disinterest in Europe was the recent Clinton-Yeltsin "summit" in Helsinki. Yes, the story played big for a few days, but coverage was skewed. The American media made no effort to report on how West European leaders viewed the meeting—a critical aspect of the story.

An uninformed public is an unconcerned one. If the present government in Washington has chosen to be "the indispensable nation," it is the public's right to know why and what's going on. The idea is to get the picture ahead of time, and get it out and around. For those of us addicted to finding the story and getting it right—even European stories—it's the writer Samuel Beckett's formula that inspires. "Try. Fail. Try again. Fail Again. Try harder. Fail better." So try.

Albert-Simon, a vice president of the Overseas Press Club, is U.S. bureau chief for Paris-based Politique Internationale.



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Rwanda... Is Anybody Listening?

By Joan Mower

Jean-Baptiste Kayigamba dreams of turning the Rwanda News Agency into an information nerve center in this small, tormented African nation. The three-month-old RNA, based in the capital of Kigali, is barely a shoestring operation faxing only a handful of brief stories each week to international news outlets in neighboring Uganda.

Four news people—managing director Kayigamba, a senior editor and two reporters—compete for one telephone line. They write on two donated computers with one printer that works only sporadically. Kayigamba's wish list includes just about everything: supplies, a tape recorder, a modem, a laptop computer, staff training and a motorcycle to get around the hilly capital.

Still, with memories of the country's 1994 genocide still fresh, Kayigamba's priority is keeping news of Rwanda on the front burner. "When genocide broke out, we noticed how the outside world hardly knew about the realities here," he says in his sparsely furnished office. "Our ambition is to provide the world with a clear picture of a nation that is striving to reconstruct the social fabric."

Good luck, some would say. Less than three years after the slaughter left an estimated one million people dead—some 800,000 were killed in a six-week period

from April 7 to May 21, 1994—Rwanda has been largely forgotten by the international press.

The vast majority of people killed were from the Tutsi tribe, targeted by Hutu extremists. Tutsis, who now control the government, make up 12% of the eight million population. In his authoritative book, *The Rwanda Crisis*, Gerard Prunier says the daily killing rate was at least five times that of the Nazi death camps.

Had international attention focused on Rwanda before the genocide, local journalists believe, lives could have been saved. "TV coverage of the genocide was not available, given the near technical impossibility of catching killers in the act," Prunier says. "In contemporary Western society, events not seen on the TV screen do not exist."

Today, no foreign journalists are stationed in Kigali, a city with few paved roads, only 14,000 telephones, little mineral wealth and limited strategic interest. Reuters' correspondent was recently expelled for misquoting the president; other American news outlets occasionally parachute journalists into the country. (Rwanda has been mentioned briefly on the front pages in connection with the civil war in neighboring Zaire, where anti-government rebels receive support from Zairian Tutsis and Rwanda's Tutsi-led government.)

*The Western
media has
completely
retreated from
the scene of
a tragic and
important
story*



Like its society, Rwanda's media is fragile. The obstacles—economic and psychological—are awesome. In an anemic economy, editors like Jean Mugabe of *Le Tribun du Peuple* barely scrape by. He publishes his monthly 2,000-circulation magazine from his house next to a bombed-out building. A bachelor, the 30-year-old Mugabe also cares for two nephews and a niece orphaned in the genocide. Mugabe survived by closing his magazine and fleeing into the bush before 1994.

Rwanda has a half-dozen newspapers—none of them dailies—and a handful of magazines in French, English and Kinyarwanda, the language spoken by both Hutus and Tutsis. In a country



where 60% of the people are illiterate, government-run Radio Rwanda is the dominant outlet. Television is in its infancy.

Privately owned "independent" radio remains suspect because of the role played in 1994 by the notorious Radio Mille Collines, controlled by Hutu extremists. "It (the now-defunct station) has given private media a bad name because it finally became a tool of genocide," says Peter Mweusi, director of Radio Rwanda and president of the Rwandese Association of Journalists.

More than 49 journalists—Tutsis and moderate Hutus—were killed in 1994, many in the early days of the massacres.

HUTU REFUGEES RETURNING TO THEIR COUNTRY FROM ZAIRE

And in a country where sporadic violence continues, journalism remains a dangerous profession.

Journalists today in Rwanda, a French-speaking former colony of Belgium, are frequently young people who came to the country from exile in English-speaking Tanzania and Uganda. Typical of them is Rashid Rwango, a reporter for Radio Rwanda. After studying Arabic in a Ugandan university for several years, the 28-year-old was recently hired by the radio station despite his lack of broadcast experience or journalistic education. "I have never had any training, I don't know much about journalism," said Rwango, who earns about \$100 a month.

These new journalists are desperate to learn. A weeklong seminar I recently gave on basic journalism techniques attracted more than 30 people. "Many people do not know the fundamentals—and ethics are a big topic," says Charles Kayitana, head of the National University of Rwanda's School of Journalism.

Rwandan journalists want to raise standards, improve coverage of their region and tell their story abroad. But there's little reason to think that editors at international news organizations are listening.

A top American wire service editor said recently he was under pressure to justify keeping two reporters full-time in eastern Zaire because U.S. newspapers



were not giving the civil war story much play. Other foreign editors say they aren't covering the region because of the expense and lack of public interest. "There is more attention, perhaps more weight given than ever before, to the issue of profitability versus responsibility," says Ralph Begleiter, CNN's world affairs correspondent and host of the weekly "Global View" show that can't be seen in the United States.

Seymour Topping, administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes and a 34-year veteran of *The New York Times*, including a stint as foreign editor, is blunter: The biggest problem is not lack of interest in African news and international events but rather "the concentration of ownership that is profit-driven and the lack of inclination to meet any responsibility except the bottom line."

Will key decision-makers reevaluate the role of international news as the 21st century approaches? The decline in foreign coverage—television networks spent

**REFUGEES
REACH OUT
FOR HELP...
WILL THERE
BE ANY?**

13% of their time on international news in 1995, a drop from 45% in the 1970s—may be financially shortsighted, argues longtime correspondent Garrick Utley. "The editorial downsizing, narrowing of focus and increasing homogeneity of content give viewers searching for broader exposure to the world even less reason to watch programs," Utley writes in *Foreign Affairs*. "It is a slippery slope."

Edward Seaton, publisher of *The Manhattan Mercury* in Manhattan, Kansas, and incoming president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the nation's largest editors' organization, also thinks newspaper editors may be misjudging the public. Seaton says one of his projects as ASNE president will be an examination of "the way editors treat international news." His aim: to find out if editors are "misreading the public's interest in international news." Seaton thinks they may be.

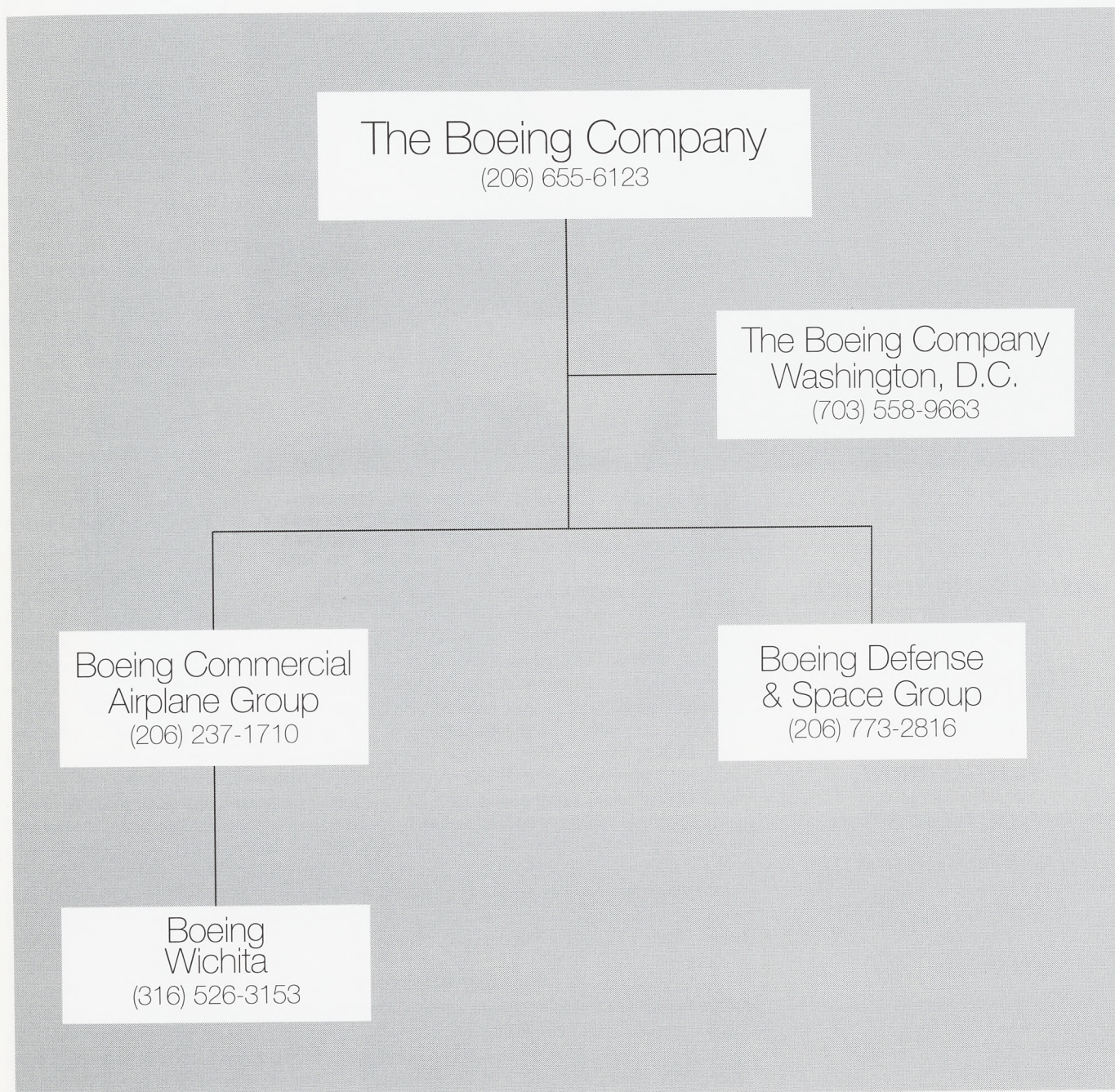
Seaton says there are myriad local connections between central Kansas and the world, connections that make readers care about international news. McCalls, the pattern company, has a Kansas factory that prints clothes patterns in Russian, Japanese and Portuguese. And 1,000 Army troops from nearby Fort Riley have traveled to Bosnia. "The truth is, the economy is becoming interconnected, and we ignore it at our peril," he says.

But Africa remains perhaps the hardest story to sell. The journalists in Rwanda like Jean-Baptiste Kayigamba are doing everything they can to improve their own coverage and supply the world with news. The goal is more than just professional or economic gain. They believe that only the media has the power to prevent a repeat of the medieval chaos that befell their country only 36 months ago. Will the world press show that it cares?

Mower is manager of international programs at the Freedom Forum in Arlington, Virginia.

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"Friendly Fire" Threatens Free Press

By Dinah Lee, Larry Martz and Norman A. Schorr



Aside from murders, detentions, attacks, censorship and other harassment, journalists are encountering new, unsettling restrictions

Nadezhda Chaikova was a prominent Russian journalist known for her fearless coverage of the Chechnya conflict. A correspondent for the weekly paper *Obshchaya Gazeta*, she wrote about alleged human rights violations, the prison camps used by Russian authorities to manage local populations and various atrocities committed by the Russian military. In late March 1996, she was found battered, blindfolded and shot in the back of her head, execution-style.

Appeals by the OPC and other organizations for a thorough investigation of Chaikova's murder were ignored, the same way that previous calls for inquiries into the assassinations last year of at least five other Russian journalists went nowhere.

Around the world, murders of journalists generally go uninvestigated, unsolved and unpunished. One of the few exceptions has taken place in Ireland, where the government charged a known drug trafficker with the murder of investigative reporter Veronica Guerin.

With murders of 155 news people in

THE SHROUD-WRAPPED BODY OF CHAIKOVA PRIOR TO HER BURIAL IN CHECHNYA

North and South America in the past seven years, the Inter American Press Association is launching an "unpunished crimes program," funded by the Knight Foundation. A hemisphere-wide conference on the issue will be held in Guatemala in mid-1997.

Worldwide, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported that in 1996, there were 26 assassinations of journalists in 14 countries. Eight more murders are suspected, but not fully authenticated. Algeria headed the killing list with seven, and Russia followed with six. The International Press Institute in Vienna says that 38 journalists were killed in 1996, and that Algeria was the site of 11 murders, and Russia had seven.

Freedom House found that there were more than 1,800 violations of press freedom last year. Nearly 350 journalists in 54 countries were arrested.

About 270 were physically assaulted or tortured, and 45 were kidnapped or "disappeared."

In its *Attacks on the Press in 1996* volume, CPJ includes the names of 185 journalists—reporters, cameramen, editors, photographers, radio and TV broadcasters—who were in prison at year-end 1996. Turkey was the worst offender with 75 in jail. Ethiopia followed with 18, China 17, Kuwait 15, Nigeria and Myanmar (formerly Burma) eight and Algeria seven.

In general, the climate for freedom of the press around the world is worsening. Punishment doesn't always take a physical form as China displayed in the case of a Hong Kong publisher who has been an outspoken critic of the government. A public offering of shares in the Next Media Group, headed by Jimmy Lai Chee, was announced for introduction in early

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**REFRESHER COURSES
AVAILABLE IN ANY LANGUAGE.**

April 1996. Despite the assurance of press freedom in Hong Kong's new constitution, the underwriter, Sun Hung Kai International, pulled out of the deal because the investment business is strongly influenced by favorable relations with Beijing. Reporters for Next publications now are denied access to official press events in China.

Aside from targeted assassinations, detentions, physical attacks and incidents of censorship worldwide, there has been a deterioration of working conditions for freelancers, TV crews and other correspondents. Organized crime and government forces have also proved to be a rising threat.

This repression doesn't come only in dictatorships, developing countries and Fourth World backwaters. Other villains include a host of international and regional groups that claim to support the ideals of democracy. Even some traditional advocates of free speech have moved to obstruct or destroy the free press. These trends, disarming and virtually coming in "under the radar," threaten to blindside all of us.

One of the most important concepts we believe in is "press responsibility." The Overseas Press Club knows as well as any other journalists' organization the need for self-scrutiny of the accuracy and objectivity behind the news we put on the page and screen. But do we need a move from the 33-nation Council of Europe to assess the news media? A ministerial-level conference held in Prague last June followed a year of documentation by European countries on "press responsibility" and made some unsettling recommendations.

Journalists were warned that they should draft their own practice codes, presumably for interpretation and enforcement by government officials. This was eerily reminiscent of the push for a New World Information and Communication Order (nwico) put to unesco by the Soviet Union and its satellites in the 1970s.

Today, it seems that the underlying message is: "If you don't control yourselves, governments will intervene and act." The Council ministers called on members of the press to "describe how their rights and freedoms are to be reconciled with others' rights, freedoms and interests as well as their responsibilities."

Of course, Europe is changing. It is absorbing the societies of the former Communist bloc countries from the East

at the same time it is witnessing the tensions produced by far-right extremists, racists and surges of unemployed not seen in western Europe for decades. The French have just witnessed an unsuccessful legislative move to turn French citizens into informers on overstaying illegal immigrants. The memory of the last war was still too fresh for that thrust to succeed. In some parts of Europe, fears of inflammatory speech and recurrent anti-Semitic or anti-foreign rhetoric are well founded. But it is another thing to respond to social challenges by restricting the basic tenets of free speech.

Take as an example the press controls proposed by none other than Reporters Sans Frontières (Reporters Without Bor-

Even some traditional advocates of free speech have moved to obstruct or destroy the free press

ders). This free press group, a member of the International Freedom of Information Exchange, proposed authorizing governments to jail or fine any publisher that a court convicted of insulting a public official, and to outlaw news coverage of whatever could be called "confidential." The draft Press Law stated, "Any newspaper that directly incited any person or persons to commit a crime or offense, if committed, shall be punished as accomplices to the crime or offense." Who and what defines that incitement? The word of the accused? The prosecutor for the state? Is the newspaper innocent of incitement until proven guilty beyond a shadow of a doubt, or on the impression of an angry reader?

Moreover, the proposed restrictions on "hate speech" in the French reporters' so-called model law could make covering a country's social tensions virtually impossible. Under pressure from the World Press Freedom Committee and others, the Reporters Sans Frontières' proposal was withdrawn, for now.

The United Nations is not immune to the forces, either. The U.N. enshrined the right of all people to free expression

in Article 19 of its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Recently, the World Press Freedom Committee revealed that a reincarnated NWICO is likely to be brought before the meeting of the 89-country U.N. Committee on Information, scheduled to meet May 13-23 in New York. The move stems from a meeting of information ministers of about 30 "nonaligned" countries who met in Abuja, Nigeria in September 1996. Also, the Council of Europe's press-restrictions proposal has been advanced to the U.N. Human Rights Commission for consideration in a discussion of the "duties and responsibilities" of the press. U.N. members will address measures to counter "abuse of power by the mass media." These abuses are said to include the violation of the rights of others, including the right to "privacy, or the influencing of public opinion, or the monopolization of the press."

Another human rights group, the Article 19 organization, held a meeting of 35 legal experts and no working journalists in Johannesburg recently to legitimize the national security pretext for restrictions on news. The group concluded that to protect national security, governments could ban or punish a reporter or editor who published anything the government wanted to keep secret.

The much-abused United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which includes the original Article 19, promises freedom of expression. But virtually every incident of abuse of the press occurs with the tacit approval, if not the direct order, of a government that has a representative sitting in the U.N. General Assembly as a member state and signatory to this commitment to free expression.

That is one reason why our Freedom of the Press Committee's letters of appeal are routinely copied to each country's ambassador to the U.N. Of the Declaration's 48 original supporters, 32 are consistent violators of the document's principles, accounting for the imprisonment of 130 of our fellow journalists at the end of 1995.

In short, for the press to remain free, our watchfulness must only increase. Winston Churchill, himself a war correspondent, gave us our mandate as "the unsleeping guardian of every other right that free men prize."

Lee, Martz and Schorr are co-chairs of the OPC Freedom of the Press Committee.



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Trouble Spots: Dateline's List of OPC Protests

Algeria

- Murder of **DJIL ALI ARABIDOU**, reporter/photographer with pro-government weekly *Algérie Actualité*.
- **CHAWKI LAAMARI**, journalist with daily *La Tribune*, jailed because his paper carried a drawing of Algerian flag; publication suspended indefinitely.

Bangladesh

- Two journalists killed by police, and daily *Afker Kagaj* reporter Borhan Kabir arrested after writing about parliamentary elections.

Belarus

- Seven reporters, with press credentials displayed, are beaten by riot police while covering unauthorized public demonstration.

Burundi

- **RICHARD NIYONGERE**, journalist with the Burundi press agency, who wrote report on security forces' involvement in 10 killings, is being hunted by military. BBC and Agence France Presse quoted his story.

Cambodia

- **THUN BUNLY**, *Odamktek Khmer* publisher, was murdered by two assailants on a motorcy-

cle; this was fourth killing of a Cambodian journalist since U.N.-supervised elections in 1993.

- For article published in his paper, **CHAN ROTANA**, editor of opposition newspaper, is sentenced to year in prison and heavy fine.

Cameroon

- **PIUS NJAWE**, editor-in-chief of independent newspaper *Le Messager*, is convicted on charges of insulting the country's head of state.

China

- The government announces plan for official news agency (NCNA) to supervise distribution and content of international financial news services in China.
- **WANG DAN**, writer for Hong Kong daily and New York-based China Rights Forum, charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government, a capital crime.

Colombia

- Journalist for U.S. TV network Univision, is attacked for reporting on drug trafficking.

Croatia

- New, restrictive press law is enacted; government plans not to renew license for last independent radio station in Croatia.

Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)

- Deputy editor of *La Voie* is arrested and two staffers sentenced to two years in prison and fined for "offending the head of state."

Cuba

- Arrests of journalists with independent press agency, Patria.
- **RAFAEL SOLANO**, president of Havana Press news agency, arrested; **ROFANA YAL-DIVA**, reporter for independent press agency, threatened with prison sentence if she doesn't emigrate.
- Harassment, disruption of independent press groups.
- Independent journalists are harassed, threatened with arrests.

Egypt

- **GAMAL BADWAI**, editor-in-chief of *Al-Wafd*, is assaulted.
- **MAHMOUD TOHAMI**, editor of *Rose al-Yousef* magazine, is sentenced to two years of hard labor for article he wrote.

England

- Deportation of dissident Saudi editor from London to Dominica is opposed.



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Dateline Protests

Guatemala

•Extended series of violations of press freedoms: death threats to seven journalists, abduction and beating of reporters, one is murdered, and home of one is bombed.

Honduras

•**JORGE LUIS MONROY**, radio news commentator, is attacked and beaten for his reports on local political issues.

India

•**GHOOLAM RASOOL SHEIKH**, Kashmiri newspaper editor, is kidnapped, killed; the sixth to be killed in Kashmir since 1990.

Indonesia

•Supreme Court upholds prison sentences of **AHMAD TAUFIK**, **EKO MARYADI**, **DANANG KUKUH WARDoyo** of the Alliance of Independent Journalists. Court's action is called violation of Article 19 of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

Iran

•Concern for safety of **FARAJ SARKOUHI**, editor of *Adineh* magazine.

Ireland

•**VERONICA GUERIN**, crime reporter with *Sunday Independent*, is murdered.

Israel

(Israel-administered territory, and Palestine National Authority-administered territory)

•Attacks on Israeli, Palestinian, Agence France Presse, CBS and Reuters photographers, reporters and cameramen during demonstrations following September opening of Western Wall tunnel in Jerusalem.

Mexico

•Death threats, kidnapping, other harassment imposed on journalists at *El Manana de Nuevo Laredo*, attributed to paper's reports of alleged official corruption.

•**JOSE BARRON ROSALES**, radio reporter for independent station, is attacked by gunman who abused him for his work.

•**GINA BATISTA**, reporter-anchor for Channel 40, suffered a violent assault in May, and her attackers shot at her.

Myanmar (formerly Burma)

•**MYO MYINT**, editor of magazine *What's Happening*, and his publisher **SEIN HLAING**, are among 21 prisoners sentenced to long prison terms and held in tiny dog cells.

Philippines

•**FERDINAND REYES**, editor-in-chief of weekly paper, who had written frequent articles about alleged flagrant corruption, is murdered.

Russian Federation

•Murder of crime reporter **VADIM ALFER-YEV**; investigation is urged.

•Murder of investigative reporter **NADEZHDA CHAIKOVA**; investigation demanded.

Rwanda

•**AMIEL NKURIZA AND APPOLOS HAKIZIMANA**, staffers at weekly *Intego*, are arrested, mistreated after paper printed article critical of government.

Turkey

•**YASAR KEMAL**, convicted of "inciting hatred" in article covering government's treatment of Kurdish people.

•Incommunicado detention and "disappearance" of two journalists reported; no-torture assurance is urged.

•Journalist **MELIN GOKTEPE** died after being arrested and beaten by Turkish police.

Thailand

•Brutal killing of **SAENGCHAI SUNTHORNWAT**, director of organization which owns two television channels.

Vietnam

•**LY CHANDERA**, editor of *Vietnam Tu Do* (Free Vietnam), is seized and detained.

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The Washington Post

PARADE

July 11, 1995. One day after her release from six years of house arrest, Aung San Suu Kyi, the leader of the National League for Democracy in Burma (renamed Myanmar in 1989 by the present government), speaks to followers outside the gates of her house in Rangoon. Her weekend talks — the only forum for free speech in the country — were canceled in December, as Aung San Suu Kyi's freedom was again restricted.

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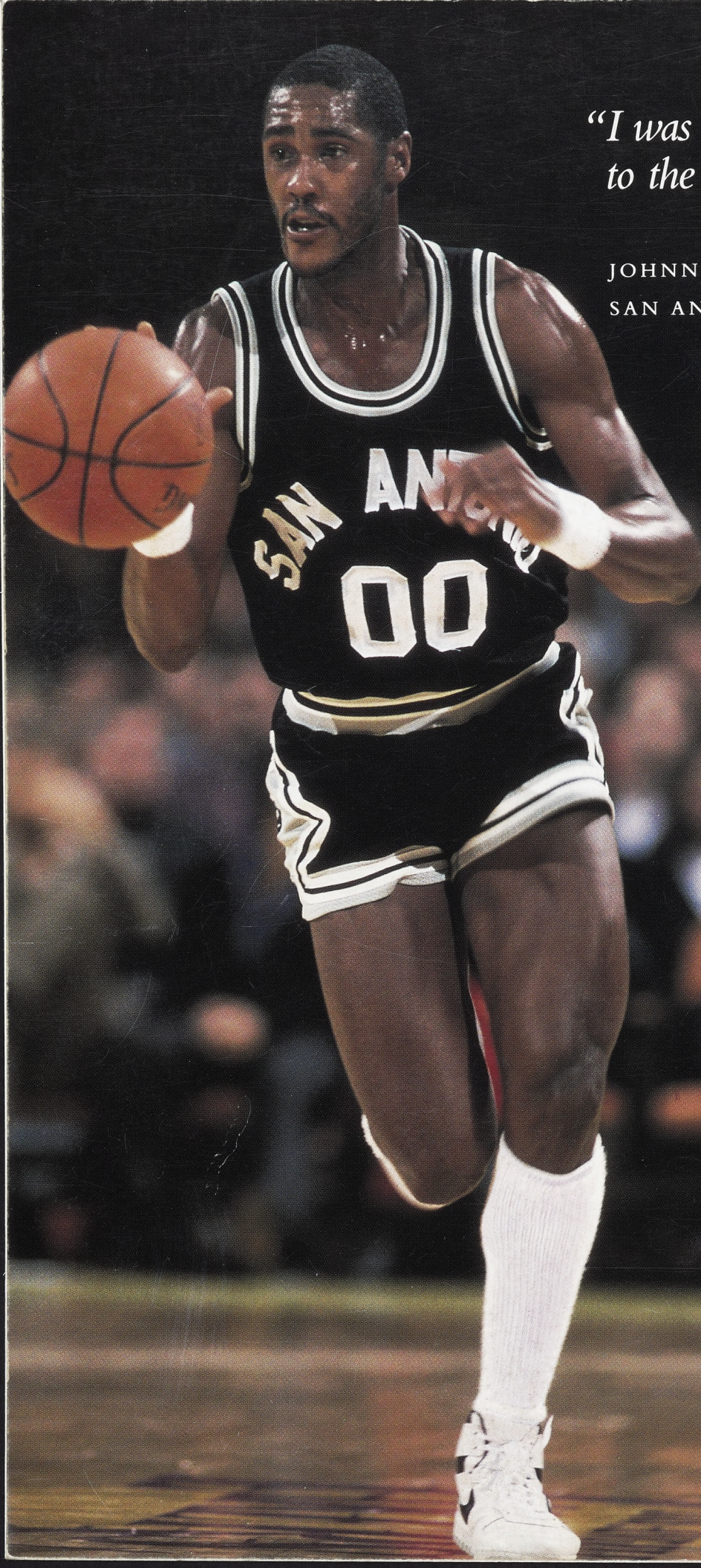
AN INTERVIEW BY DAVID WALLECHINSKY

INSIDE: Parade's All-America High School Football Team

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